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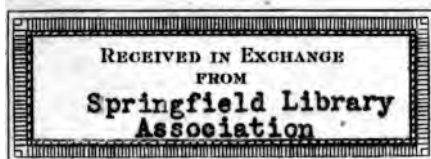
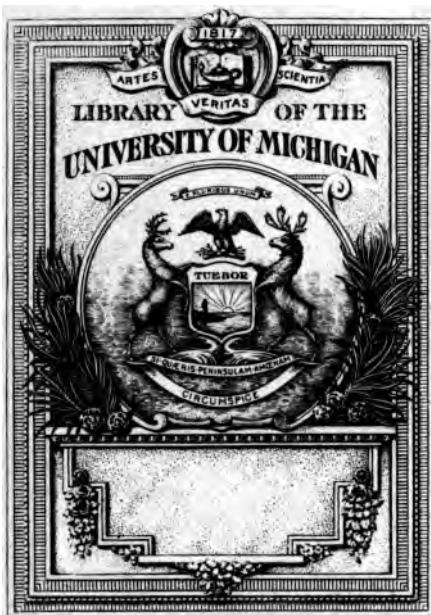
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Negro Neighbors
BOND AND FREE

LESSONS IN
HISTORY AND HUMANITY





Nellie E. Dodge, ^E₄₄₁ W5;
Dec. 25, 1908.

P. M. W.



NEGRO NEIGHBORS
BOND AND FREE

LESSONS IN
HISTORY AND HUMANITY

BY
PHILA M. WHIPPLE



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SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS

LESSON I

BONDAGE ENFORCED

ANCIENT SLAVERY

"Whatever day
Makes man a slave takes half his worth away."

Its Origin. Far back to the earliest pages of the world's history must we turn to find the day when first a man was made a slave,—the property of his fellow-man. Then, vastly more than now, life was a struggle,—a struggle with nature and its laws, with wild beasts and savage men,—a struggle for food and raiment, for house and land, often for mere existence and the right to live. In the midst of these primitive strugglers stalked two grim figures, *Want* and *War*, bringing men into bondage, and founding the institution of *slavery*. Hunger and cold, famine and privation were the stern agents of *Want*, causing many a man, a family, or even an entire tribe or clan, to accept terms of service from those who could and would supply their urgent needs. Even more powerful was *War*, with his long train of foreign captives, forced to enter into subjection to the conqueror. Even the savages of that early period found it more profitable to enslave their captives than to massacre them, and the custom became widely prevalent in the ancient world.

Among Oriental Nations. All the ancient oriental nations of which we have any record had their slaves, and some of the greatest material works of antiquity were accomplished by

them. By means of slaves, agriculture was carried on; the industrial arts were practised; and, because of their hard labor, leisure was given to priests and scribes, philosophers and writers, to work out their plans for the intellectual development of the race. In Assyria, recently discovered sculptures show great masses of slaves—the conquest of war—engaged in dragging colossal monuments into position. In Egypt, it was slave labor that built the pyramids, and reared the sphinx of Ghizeh; and Egyptian slaves performed many acts of social and artistic service, as represented on their monuments. There was slave-trading, too, and the Phenicians shared with the Philistines the unhappy reputation of being the chief slave-traders of antiquity. Even among the Hebrews, slaves were held; some, members of their own nation who had sold themselves on account of debts or poverty,—others, foreigners who had become captives in time of war.

Hebrew Legislation. Much of the Mosaic Law is concerned with the treatment of *bond-servants*; and from both law and history it is evident that slavery among the Hebrews was an institution much more humane and considerate than among other Eastern nations of the olden time, or those modern nations that have practised it. Much emphasis was placed upon the sacredness of human life and liberty; masters must treat their slaves with kindness and with justice as tho they were brethren; suitable remuneration must be given for their services, and in the seventh year came their release; while every fifty years there was, besides, a general emancipation of Hebrew slaves, a veritable *Year of Jubilee*. No *Fugitive Slave Law* defaced the Mosaic Statute book, but instead a law which said:

"Thou shalt not deliver up a slave to his master, who escapes to thee from his master. With thee shall he abide in thy midst in the place that he chooses, in any one of thy cities that he likes."
—(Deut. 23: 15, 16.)

Some distinction there was between the native and the foreign slave, in favor of the native; but the latter was urged to become a proselyte, to become a part of the Hebrew religious community, and so to share in its protection. Many a slave attained a high position in his master's household, and he might even become his heir. The important place held by Eliezer in the family of Abraham was paralleled in later times by the fate of Joseph, the captive Hebrew, who became the prime minister of Pharaoh. In a word, the purpose of the Hebrew legislation regarding a system existing centuries before the Exodus and the giving of the Law, was to diminish its evils, and limit its duration. Had this spirit prevailed in other lands and other times, the face of history had been changed.

In Ancient Greece. Among the Greeks, the practise of slavery was so ancient that its origin cannot be traced. Even their greatest philosophers and moralists saw in it no moral wrong, but regarded it as a necessity of nature. Aristotle divided all mankind into two classes,—freemen, and *slaves by nature*; and Plato wished only that no Greeks should be made slaves. Besides those taken captive in war, and those enslaved by their creditors for debt, the slave-markets were supplied by pirates whose trade was not then considered illegal and dishonorable. The Greek dealers bought large numbers of human beings at the markets held in the towns on the coast of the Black Sea, and the Asiatic side of the Grecian Archipelago; then put them up for sale at home. In Athens, there

were special markets held for this purpose on the first day of every month, and the number of slaves owned in all parts of Greece was enormous. It was a sign of extreme poverty to own no slaves at all, and their number probably exceeded that of the free population. Laws and customs differed in different states, but in many respects the lot of the slave was hard and unhappy. His master might throw him into chains, put him in the stocks, condemn him to the most violent labor, leave him without food, brand him, punish him with stripes,—but in Athens, at least, he was forbidden to kill him. Still, it was possible for some slaves to earn large sums of money, enjoy a fair share of legal protection, and purchase their freedom, should their owners consent. So that, according to Demosthenes, a slave at Athens was better off than a free citizen in many other countries.

In Here, too, the custom was widely prevalent,
Rome. and under the Roman Empire, it is said to have been carried to an excess never known elsewhere, before or since. But the conditions differed somewhat from those in Greece. The Romans believed that all men were free by *natural law*; but that slavery, tho contrary to such law, was justified by the *law of nations*, when a captive was preserved instead of being slain. From this custom comes the Latin word for slave, *servus*, contracted from *servatus*—preserved. Then, when a freeman sold himself for debt, his enslavement was justified by *civil law*. How different was the Roman from the Hebrew estimate of human life, is shown all too vividly in the customs of the gladiatorial combats; in the exposure of old and useless slaves on an island of the Tiber, there to die of hunger; and in conduct like that of one Pollio,

who, in the polite age of Augustus, was accustomed to fling such slaves as displeased him into his fish ponds, *to please his lampreys*. When complaint was made to the Emperor, no severer punishment was imposed upon the noble (?) criminal than the destruction of his ponds. But later, such cruelty was somewhat restrained by law, and the killing of a slave was accounted murder, but the harboring of a runaway slave was illegal. At first, the cultivation of the soil was almost entirely given over to slaves; then they became personal attendants upon their masters; later, they were employed in the mechanical arts, about the amphitheatre, and then in trade, when it became possible for them to hold property of their own, and perhaps purchase their freedom. There were various ways in which a slave might be set at liberty, but this power was restricted by law. Among captives set free, both in Greece and Rome, was often a slave far superior to his master, and the names of Esop and Epictetus have shed luster upon a condition of bondage, destined to be for them of short duration, an earnest of the coming emancipation of their race.

The Teachings The new religion did not at once of Christianity. break the fetters which long ages of practise had so firmly forged, but it introduced principles which, once adopted, and developed to their perfect application, were powerful to snap the chains of slavery, and restore men to their natural rights of freedom. The new idea of human duties and relationships taught by the Founder of Christianity; the lessons of love and brotherhood, and common relations of all men to the life and liberty of the Gospel; the explicit injunctions of Paul, the chief Apostle, concerning the mutual duties of bond-

servants and their masters;—all these were the spiritual influences permeating the Christian Church, and thru it, the world. Christianity never, in the early ages, denounced slavery as a crime, never advised slaves to rise and throw off the yoke, nor definitely commanded masters to liberate their slaves; but it taught patience and obedience to the one, and to the other, kindness and forbearance. Within the church, the brotherhood of man was recognized, master and slave were absolutely equal, and Paul could say:

“There is neither slave nor free, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”

The poor, unhappy bondsmen of Greek and Roman society had restored to them their rights of manhood, and their external condition was gradually improved. The church excommunicated such slave-holders as put their slaves to death without warrant from the judge, and even Roman laws were modified in favor of the slave. Still, the number of those held in bondage increased, as multitudes were brought in by the barbaric invaders of the Empire; and our modern word *slave* bears witness to the fact that great numbers of these captives were *Slavs*, tribes dwelling at first between the Vistula and Dnieper rivers, but spreading westward as their primitive home became too narrow for their rapid increase. Six centuries of conflict between Christianity and the institution of slavery in the Roman Empire saw the latter tottering to its fall, only to be succeeded thruout all medieval Europe by the almost equally degrading bondage of *serfdom*. But the leaven of liberty was at work, surely if slowly, and after eighteen centuries of influence, emancipation was a fact in all Christian European countries; and in this twentieth century, it still must work to abolish

those lingering remnants of a traffic contrary to all the laws of humanity and of God.

MODERN NEGRO SLAVERY

Its Beginning "African slavery is the oldest of all known systems of chattelism, and as the earliest records show, was universal in the Dark Continent. From the dawn of commerce and civilization, slaves were its chief commodity of exchange with foreign peoples. India, Persia, Babylon, Arabia, Phenicia, the Hebrews, Greece, and Rome trafficked in Negro slaves, exchanging their spices, wine, silks, jewels, linen, and tapestry for sable bondmen. But in the last four centuries, the Arabs and the Portuguese have been the foreign slave factors of Africa, the former supplying the Eastern, and the latter the Western slave markets of the world, which, until slavery was abolished in our hemisphere, consisted of North, South, and Central America, as well as the West Indian Islands."

This is the statement of an American historian, himself of African descent, and it furnishes the connecting link between the ancient and the modern, and introduces the Portuguese as the earliest European nation to engage in the capture and the sale of their *Brothers in Black*.

Prince Henry's Agency. In the days of the Navigator Prince, Cape Bojador, *the bulging cape*, just beyond the Canaries, was the southernmost point of Christian knowledge; and strange and childish notions filled the minds of mariners and landsmen alike. The sailors believed that any Christian venturing beyond this cape would be turned into a *black*, God's punishment on his curious and insolent prying. The medieval maps were marvels of superstitious imagination and fear, representing the African

coast as fringed with sea-monsters and serpent rocks, and over the waters frightful spirit hands, raised to seize the first human victims who should venture into this Satanic realm. But Henry of Portugal roused his captains to discredit these idle tales, and urged them in these words to pass beyond the dreaded cape:

"Go out again and heed them not, for by God's help, fame and profit must come from your voyage, if you will but persevere."

And fame and profit came.

The First Captives. In 1434, one of his caravels doubled Bojador, and the following year efforts were made to explore the land and obey Henry's injunction to bring home at least one native. The first efforts failed, but in 1441 Antam Gonsalvez, Master of the Robes to Prince Henry, was sent out with a vessel to load it with "sea-wolves"; but instead he captured some Moors, hoping to please his royal master by taking home "some of the language of that country." In 1442, these Moors offered their captor some black slaves in ransom for themselves, if they were taken back to their own country. This the Prince urged Gonsalvez to do, for the sake of gaining souls, having more faith in the conversion of the Negroes than of the Moors. When the Master of the Robes made terms with his first captives and restored them to their homes, he is said to have received in exchange for two Moors, some gold dust, a target of buffalo hide, some ostrich eggs, and *ten black slaves*, the first to make their appearance in the Spanish Peninsula, where they aroused great admiration because of their color. Then began the second great period of slavery. The old pagan institution had become practically ex-

tinct, and this new phase was marked by a character purely commercial. The slave was no longer a prisoner of war, no longer a captive of debt or poverty, but an object of commerce, a creature to be sought for, to be produced, and to be sold. More momentous than all that had preceded is the history of the last four centuries.

SLAVERY IN SPANISH AMERICA

The Spanish Trade. Could Prince Henry have foreseen the outcome of this trade in human souls, the far-reaching results to two continents and two races, we may well believe that his righteous soul would have been vexed within him; for history credits him with kindness and fair treatment, with genuine piety and earnest zeal for the increase of the church. Hating the Moslem infidels with a bitter hatred, he believed it was better for a Negro to be a slave in the Christian faith than a Mohammedan in freedom, and his was not the selfish pleasure of a slave trader in making gain, or inflicting injury. Others had the commercial instinct, however, and the trade went on; tho, after a time, the importation of human beings by the Portuguese languished until after the discovery of America. Even then, it was the part of Spain and not of Portugal to bring upon herself the dire disgrace of introducing slavery into the New World. One of Spain's historians even claims for her a trade in Negro slaves earlier than that of the Portuguese; but however that may be, it is certain that long before Columbus sailed away from Palos, on his memorable voyage of discovery, the sale of gold-dust and captives from the west coast of Africa was carried on in Andalusia, and "abounded in the city of Seville."

Enslavement of the Indians. Like Prince Henry and the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus was possessed by a strong desire to bring men—all men, white, black or red, to the faith of the Holy Catholic Church, as his own description of the first Indian he met clearly illustrates.

"Because they had much friendship for us, and because I knew they were people that would deliver themselves better to the Christian faith, and be converted more through love than by force, I gave some of them coloured caps and some strings of glass beads for their neck, and many other things of little value, with which they were delighted, and were so entirely ours that it was a marvel to see. They ought to make faithful servants and of good understanding, for I see that very quickly they repeat all that is said to them; and I believe they would easily be converted to Christianity, for it appeared to me that they had no creed."

Strangely in contrast with an honest missionary purpose was the method suggested and practised in carrying it out. On Columbus's second visit to the New World, after finding the little colony left on Hispaniola entirely destroyed, he sent messages back to Spain by one Antonio de Torres, who was to inform their royal highnesses that he (Columbus) had "sent home some Indians from the Cannibal Islands as slaves, to be taught Castilian and to serve afterwards as interpreters, so that the work of conversion might go on." He advised, too, that the more of them that could be taken the better, and distinctly proposed the establishment of the slave-trade. But the Monarchs rejected the proposal, tho, curiously enough, the very ships that brought their reply, begging Columbus to seek some other way to Christianity than thru slavery, even for man-eating Caribs, went back to Spain loaded with slaves taken from among the wild inhabitants of

Hispaniola. So, in spite of the royal protest, the trade went on; Columbus made war, took captives, sent them to Spain, devised plans of barter and exchange, and developed the commercial cunning of the slave-trader, without, perhaps, losing the religious instinct for conversion, so-called.

Substitution The large numbers of Indians sent to of the Negroes. Spain, killed by warfare, or by unaccustomed labors, privations, and diseases, so reduced the labor market, that Negroes were gradually introduced to supply it. Spanish slave holders, as they emigrated to the colonies, brought unauthorized their slaves with them, and the superior hardihood of the race, their ability to live in all climates, favored their further importation. In 1501, when Ovando was governor of the Indies, an edict of the King declared that Negro slaves "born in the power of Christians," were to be allowed to enter Hispaniola; and in this way the trade was established in the New World, by the royal ordinances of Spain. In two years the number was so great that the governor remonstrated, begging "that no Negro slaves should be sent to Hispaniola, for they fled amongst the Indians, and taught them bad customs, and never could be caught"; and the pope—Leo X.—declared that "not the Christian religion only, but nature herself cries out against the state of slavery." But the King continued to send them, and for a time the idle pretense of using them to assist in converting the infidel natives was maintained. Then the cultivation of sugar began, and this caused new demands for the labor of the hardy African, so that covetousness overcame any lingering scruples, and the traffic in slaves between Guinea and Hispaniola was

permitted by repeated royal orders. It is a curious coincidence that the very year (1517) in which began the great Protestant Reformation in Germany, Las Casas, called "Protector of the Indians," returned from America to Spain to plead the cause of the failing red men, and to urge a still more general employment of the black men in their places. Then the Flemings longed for license to engage in the dishonorable business, and Charles V. granted them permission. Another coincidence, even more striking in its inconsistency, is the fact that the same year in which the monarch sailed for Tunis to set free the Christian slaves of Africa captured by the Moors, he gave his legal sanction to the African slave trade, substituting the oppression of one race for that of another. One Spanish statesman saw in advance to what proportions this might grow, and the possibility of revolution; and it is a logical coincidence that Hayti, the first place in the New World to receive Negro slaves, was the first to set the example of successful revolt and liberty. It was the slave trade which gave to the African race their inheritance in America, a gift which may be described in the quaint phrase of an early historian as "very mischievous to as remote a period in the history of the world as we can at all presume to foresee."

English Enterprise. Five years from Columbus to Cabot, and then a long period of inactivity on the part of the English! Many adventurers crossed the Atlantic and explored the coast, but as the excitement of novelty grew less, the voyages grew fewer and fewer, for there was little chance to conquer, or to plunder from the Spaniards who were then on friendly terms with England; and the pope's

division of all newly-discovered lands between Spain and Portugal could not be well contested by a country then Catholic itself. But with the increasing demand for Negro slave labor, English enterprise was to find an opening, and to Sir John Hawkins belongs the unenviable distinction of first interesting his countrymen in the detestable traffic. The Spaniards themselves had no African settlements, but depended for their supplies upon the Portuguese, and French and English adventurers. When the Brazilian plantations developed so rapidly as to absorb the entire supply, the Spanish colonists were at a loss where to look for Negro helpers for themselves. When the French and English captains frequenting the Guinea coast realized this condition, Sir John Hawkins, who had from boyhood been engaged in trade with Spain and the Canaries, determined to take a cargo of slaves to Hispaniola. This he did in 1562, and his little fleet was the first English squadron to sail the West Indian seas. His ships returned to England, laden with sugar, ginger, and pearls; and so pleased was his royal mistress, Elizabeth, that she deigned not only to protect his second expedition, but to share its profits. The history of his first voyage to the Guinea coast reads like this, and the sad, laconic story was repeated in the later expeditions.

"Master John Hawkins, coming upon the coast of Sierra Leone, staid for some time, and partly by the sword, and partly by other means, got into his possession three hundred Negroes at the least."

What those other means may have been is only too evident from Hawkins's own account of his method. In one invasion, he acknowledges having set fire to a city of which the huts were covered with dry palm leaves, and so having seized two hundred and fifty

captives out of a population of 8000. A second voyage to Africa followed in 1564, and a third was planned for 1566, but the Spanish King protested, for all this trade in Spanish ports was as unlawful as it was unchristian. But by 1567, there was war between England and Spain, and Hawkins could carry out his plans without restraint; and in the voyage of this year, he was joined by young Francis Drake, who wished to extend his knowledge and share in the gains of the traffic. Indeed, this trade with the Spanish settlements in both North and South America proved lucrative beyond all expectation, and for his exploits on the Guinea coast and his subsequent expeditions, Capt. Hawkins obtained from the English office of heraldry a coat-of-arms—"a demi-Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord"; and the Queen of England shared his risks, his profits, and his crimes, and became "a smuggler and a slave-merchant." Low indeed was the prevailing sentiment in so-called Christian countries, when such things could be; and very slowly, tho not in vain, was the Christian leaven permeating the whole mass of European humanity.

IN COLONY AND STATE

In the South. The first African slaves ever brought to the mainland of North America were probably imported into Florida by the Spaniards late in the sixteenth century, but the first English colony to invest in the lives and labors of their black brothers was Virginia. It was a Dutch man-of-war, which entered the James River in August, 1619, bringing twenty Negroes, who were purchased by the colonists, and with their children held in perpetual bondage, this latter condition marking the difference between

the so-called "white slaves" of Virginia and the black. Had the trade remained with the Dutch, it would never have reached such great proportions as it attained in later years. Another nation was to foster the infamous traffic, and a clever invention to increase the demand. It is interesting to note in this connection, that the second year following, 1621, saw the beginning of cotton culture in the United States. Then for the first time the seeds were planted, at whose "plentiful coming-up" both England and America rejoiced. Colonists from Virginia settled in North Carolina, and carried their slaves with them; South Carolina received her share with the governor who came from the Barbadoes; and altho Oglethorpe, the founder of the Georgia colony, held slavery to be a crime against the laws of God, and those of England, yet the colonists complaining of his prohibition hired slaves from South Carolina; and soon ships sailed from Savannah for the coast of Africa, and Georgia, too, became a slave State. When the number of slaves seemed to increase too rapidly, some restrictions were imposed upon the traffic; but always the English government resisted such restrictions, and one historian of this sad business has written:

"British avarice planted slavery in America;
British legislation sanctioned and maintained it;
British statesmen sustained and guarded it."

Invention of the Cotton Gin. In the years preceding the Revolution, the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco became profitable sources of gain to the mother country, as well as to the colonists themselves, and the patient slaves toiling under the lash of cruel overseers were adding to the

wealth of their masters at home and abroad. But the culture of cotton had up to this time been of comparatively little profit until Eli Whitney, in 1793, perfected the *cotton gin*,—a machine for separating the fibre of cotton from the seed. New demands for this fibre had arisen in England, where the introduction of the factory system was just then made possible by the use of steam-power, and the invention of spinning and weaving machines. Now, with the help of Whitney's "gin," southern planters could supply the demand, and the cultivation of cotton spread all thru the States and Territories of the warmer regions of the South, as rapidly as slaves could be procured for new plantations. Between the years of 1793 and 1808, it is estimated that no fewer than half a million were imported into the United States, five-sevenths as many in those fifteen years as the whole number in the States in 1790. The profit was immense, and a slave became doubly valuable. All hope of a gradual extinction of the system of slave labor, held by many even in the South, by men like Washington and Jefferson, seemed lost, and since the legal importation of slaves could not endure for many more years, a home supply must be created, and so slave-breeding as a business arose and flourished in the slave and border States. Conscientious scruples disappeared before the hope of commercial and industrial gain; and an interest in the permanence of the slave trade was created, not easily weakened by the growing moral sentiment of the North. The invention of the Cotton Gin may well be noted as of grave importance to the history of America, inasmuch as it fastened upon the South an institution unjust, unrighteous, and oppressive, destined to bring misery upon a race, and war upon a nation.

In the North. In the colonial legislature of Massachusetts in 1641, a legal code, known as the "Body of

Liberties," was enacted, in which it was declared that there should never be any bond slavery except of captives taken in "just war," or persons willingly sold; and that all such should be treated as were the slaves of ancient Israel. Yet it was neither a Dutch nor an English ship, but that of Thomas Keyser and James Smith, the latter a member of the Boston church, which first drew upon this colony the infamy of sharing in the slave trade. In 1645, this ship sailed away to the Guinea coast "to trade for Negroes," and the year following two slaves were brought to the Massachusetts colony, procured in a Sunday slave-hunt in Africa. To the credit of the community, however, it is recorded that a memorial was presented to the General Court, lamenting the triple crime of "murder, man-stealing, and Sabbath-breaking;" the general indignation resulted in the restoration of the Negroes to their native country at the public charge, and later in the year, a law was passed condemning to death whoever "stealeth a man or mankind." In the Connecticut and New Haven colonies, similar laws were soon after passed, but it remained for Rhode Island, home of Roger Williams, to pass in 1652 an act providing that "no black mankind or white, forced by covenant-bond *or otherwise*," should serve more than ten years, or after the age of twenty-five, but should be set free. This law is said to be—

"The first legislative enactment in the history of this continent, if not of the world, for the suppression of involuntary servitude."

In New York, the Dutch settlers were provided with slave labor by the Dutch West Indian Company. In New Jersey, a bounty of seventy-five acres was offered

for every slave brought there, and Good Queen Anne urged the Royal African Company to have a constant supply of Negroes for this colony. Into Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania, slavery found its ready way, and while there was some public sentiment both in England and America against the traffic, and some attempt by legislation to restrict it, the number of slaves slowly increased even at the North. *There*, no plantations cried out for a multitude of workers, but on the small farms and in the households of the rich, slave labor was held valuable, but was never performed under conditions so humiliating and degrading as in the South. In New England, the profit of slaves at home was never so great as that of the slave ships at sea, and her commercial interests were fatally entangled with the trade. The poorest fish in a season's catch were sent to feed the slaves of the West Indies; molasses was the returning cargo, and, when changed to rum, this went to Africa, and was exchanged for Negroes who were sold as slaves in the Southern colonies. Even the New England conscience was not proof against greed and gain, and any attempt to shift the responsibility of the institution and growth of slavery from North to South, will find no warrant in our early history. It remained for later years to see the public conscience aroused to realize the essential wrong of such a system.

Treatment of the Slaves. In the early days of slavery, the religious motive was not lacking in many a slave-holder North and South, for both Puritan and Huguenot shared the belief that they were instruments in the hand of God for the conversion of the world, and that the slave-system was His method of bringing both Indian and African into the

number of the elect. So strong was this feeling, that with some there was even a belief that baptism might release a Negro from the bonds of servitude, a belief destroyed only in 1669, when an Act of the Crown declared that such baptism did not interfere with the master's rights in his human property. Often master and slave attended the same church services, sang the same songs, offered the same prayers, and shared the same church duties and privileges. Prof. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the most highly cultivated Negroes in the country, says:

"Slavery brought the African three advantages; it taught him to labor, gave him the English language, and—after a sort—the Christian religion."

In the North, domestic servants were treated fairly and kindly, and, as in state after state, their gradual emancipation took place, the question of cruelty and oppression, of the demoralization of both master and bondman, calls for little notice there. Even in the South, in the later days when commercial profit had superseded the missionary motive, the picture was not wholly black, for there were good masters as well as bad. There was many a well-ordered plantation where the slaves were treated with kindness and justice, where all necessary physical comforts were provided, and where the relations between masters, mistresses, and servants were fair and friendly. Had all slave-owners been like Calhoun of South Carolina, one of the foremost champions of the system, or like Thomas Dabney of Virginia and Mississippi, the story of slavery would lack those dark and dreadful chapters which cast so dense a gloom over the whole. But conscienceless planters, cruel overseers, and hard task-masters were all too numerous, and the bitterness of

bondage was tasted to the full by their hapless human victims. Worse than the deprivations of proper food and shelter, worse than hard work and most cruel floggings, were the constant fear and uncertainty of life, the family separations, the utter lack of the rewards and incentives of labor, of the privileges of learning and the rights of law, the stigma of race and servitude, and the burning sense of injustice in being merely a *thing*, a *chattel*.

Some Southern Laws. Whatever may be said in extenuation of the system as humane, or necessary, or advantageous, from the view point of the exceptionally just and generous masters, the barbarous legislation of the Southern States in the interests of preserving such an institution, is one of the severest indictments against slave owners and law-makers. Two or three quotations from their statutes will suffice as proof or illustration.

"Any person who shall attempt to teach any free person of color or slave to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction thereof, be imprisoned not less than one, or more than twelve months."

That is Louisiana.

"Teaching slaves to read and write tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds and to produce insurrection and rebellion; therefore, if any person shall give or sell to any slave a Bible, tract, or book of any kind, such person, if white, shall be punished with a fine of two hundred dollars; and, if a free negro, with thirty-nine lashes on the bare back."

That is North Carolina. In South Carolina, the slave discovered receiving such instruction was beaten with many stripes, and his instructor fined to the amount of five hundred dollars. Morality as well as mental development was outraged by the law, as witness the

code of Louisiana, "*Slaves shall not contract matrimony*," and the sanctity of human life was subject to such an enactment as this:

"If any slave shall presume to strike any white person, such slave may be lawfully killed."

Mutilation and murder on the part of the master was scarcely counted sin or crime, and the sense of human right grew pitifully less. Neither Hebrew legislation nor Christian teaching had as yet leavened the mingled lump of black and white humanity in the New World.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

The Ordinance of 1787. When the War of Independence closed, England had learned that her fostering care of the slave trade had not availed to prevent the independence her statesmen had sometimes anticipated. A quotation from a pamphlet published in 1745 shows how political as well as commercial reasons entered into the English policy:

"Negro labor will keep our British colonies in a close subserviency to the interest of their mother country; for, while our plantations depend only on planting by Negroes, our colonies can never prove injurious to British manufactures, never become independent of their Kingdom."

But victory for the colonists gave them the right to legislate for themselves, and placed upon them the great responsibility of carving out the future of three races, the white, the red, and the black. The slave trade was now a national, and not a local question. As early as 1784, when the Continental Congress attempted to fix the conditions of the great and fertile territory between the 31st and 47th parallels, a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was a member, was ap-

pointed to report a plan for its government, and their plan provided for its division into seventeen states, with this limitation:

"After the year of the Christian Era 1800, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of these states, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

Had this provision not failed of acceptance, slavery would have been prohibited not alone in the Northwest Territory, but also in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. A year later, a delegate from Massachusetts moved to modify this report by inserting a clause demanding total and immediate prohibition of slavery, but his motion, too, failed. In 1787, a committee with a Massachusetts chairman reported an ordinance for the territory northwest of the Ohio, in which there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude. In spite of the provision for the returning of fugitive slaves, this was a victory for freedom, and showed that then, even in the South, there was much anti-slavery sentiment. But the cotton gin was not yet invented! In the years following, many and persistent efforts were made to repeal or at least suspend the ordinance in the interest of settlers from the slaveholding states, but fortunately for the North and for the nation, they proved unavailing, and the Ordinance of 1787 stands as one of the great events in American history, a political and moral achievement of immense importance.

Constitutional This decision rendered slavery more
Compromises. than ever a Southern question. In the North, gradual emancipation had by this time been effected, and even Nature seemed to

have placed upon the South the responsibility of the Negro race. The Negro is a child of the sun; even Virginia's climate proved too cold for him, and the farther south he went, the more valuable was his labor. Little wonder is it, then, that in the Constitutional Convention which sat for months behind closed doors in Philadelphia, strife and contention should arise, and compromise be the natural result. Nor is it strange that in the hot and bitter struggle, South Carolina and Georgia should be the foremost champions of an abominable traffic. The Declaration of Independence had proclaimed "in deathless words" the theory of human equality, but the framers of the Constitution made the phrase a mockery. The debate centered about three stirring questions: representation in Congress, the continuance of the slave-trade, and the treatment of fugitive slaves. The first was finally settled by counting five slaves as equal to three freemen, a decision that gave no political rights or privileges to each *three-fifths of a man*, but only additional power to their masters to legislate in their own interest against their black possessions. The second fierce debate resulted in a provision allowing an extension of the trade in African Negroes for twenty years, until the year 1808, unrestrained by national legislation. The third demand of the South—that fugitive slaves and servants be delivered up like criminals—was conceded, tho, out of respect to Northern scruples, the word *slave* was not mentioned in this article, nor in the entire constitution: "persons held to service or labor," was the phrase. Thus were wrung from the Constitutional Convention those fatal concessions, "which then and thereafter trammelled the hand of Liberty and armed the hand of slavery." But much

was at stake. The leader of the extreme South declared:

"Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question is, whether the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union."

Humiliating as was the wavering of Northern principle, it must not be forgotten that it was concession or defeat, compromise or anarchy; and later generations of Northern statesmen have made their compromises, too.

The Slave Ships. As the year 1808 drew near, measures were taken to affix suitable penalties for failure to obey the law forbidding the slave-trade after that date, and again there was fiery debate and weakening compromise. In spite of the laws of Congress and the Great Jehovah, the infamous traffic, both foreign and domestic, continued and increased, sometimes carried on in secret, sometimes boldly and triumphantly. In the early days the horrors of the passage from the coasts of Western Africa were heart-rending. Five hundred Negroes were crowded into so small a bark that the wonder is that any could have lived; the hands of the strong men were made fast by manacles, and the right leg of one was often chained to the left leg of another—sometimes even a half or two-thirds perished on the voyage, from fever, thirst, and disease contracted, perhaps, in the long, hard journey from the interior of the continent to the coast. The story of the later traffic gives little evidence of a quickened conscience or a growing Christian sentiment in those who wilfully defied the law. Long after England had suppressed the

trade in Negroes, and had emancipated the slaves in all her colonies, and other European nations had begun to breathe the air of liberty, ships sailing under the Stars and Stripes were bringing their miserable, helpless, human cargoes to our land, "*the land of the free.*" It is stated that in the years between 1840 and 1848, the British government caught and destroyed 625 slave-ships and freed 40,000 of their victims, while the American government was doing nothing to enforce its laws. Only too truly in those dark days could the Quaker poet sing:

"O, say, shall Prussia's banner be
A refuge for the stricken slave?
And shall the Russian serf go free,
By Baikal's lake and Neva's wave?
And shall the wintry-bosomed Dane
Relax the iron hand of pride,
And bid his bondmen cast the chain
From fettered soul and limb aside?

Shall every flap of England's flag
Proclaim that all around are free,
From "farthest Ind" to each blue crag
That beetles o'er the Western Sea?
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings
When Freedom's fire is dim with us,
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of slavery's curse?"

Tales of horror that shocked the civilized world at length forced the American government to revive some of its forgotten laws, and Congress declared that hanging should be the penalty of those captured in the act of continuing the unlawful traffic. But greed of gain was stronger than law or conscience, and from New York City alone were secretly sent in eighteen months eighty-five ships to gather an ill-gotten cargo of hapless humanity. Excuse? \$17,000,000 a year!

The Clotilde In spite of Constitutional prohibition, it was the year 1859 before the last slave ship brought its miserable victims into Mobile Bay and up the Alabama River, a year in which, it has been stated, no fewer than 15,000 chained and tortured human beings were brought into the United States. That the last days of the traffic were as infamous as the first, is evident from the following description quoted from an article in *Harper's Monthly* for October, 1906:

"Many things can be forgotten in forty-seven years, and probably few Americans remember the story of the slave ship *Clotilde*, that was run into Mobile Bay and burned one dark night in 1859, and how its cargo of slaves was dumped off into the canebrakes and left, some to be picked up and sold, some to wander about and starve, and some to die of homesickness. * * * * * In slow, soft tones of awful earnestness she (Abacky) spoke of their peaceful farm and village life in Africa; how they tilled the ground, planting yams and rice; how some of the women traded in produce with other tribes, and all was peaceful; and then one summer morning, just at the daybreak, they heard sudden shouts and firing of guns. Men, women and children sprang from their beds, only to be killed or captured. It was the 'raiders' of the terrible King Dahomey, come to enslave the villagers! The surprise was so complete that in half an hour all was over. The young and strong were chained together by the necks, the feeble and the old left dead or dying in their burning village. * * * * *

Abacky's story of the march to the coast, the murderous cruelty of that voyage of weeks and months, as the helpless captives crouched in filth and darkness, chained in the hot hold of the ship, gasping for breath, praying for a drop of water, was related in a way that would have melted a heart of stone. After forty years, her eyes were burning, her soul inexpressibly agitated at the memory."

Of the *Clotilde*, as of many another slave ship, might it have been written :

"Hark! from the ship's dark bosom,
The very sounds of hell;
The ringing clank of iron,—
The maniac's short, sharp yell!—
The hoarse, low curse, throat stifled—
The starving infant's moan,—
The horror of a breaking heart,
Poured through a mother's groan!"

Further Legal Enactments. Even to the casual student of United States history, the principal legal measures of the years between 1787 and 1860 are as familiar as a twice told tale, and only brief reference to them need be made, but with the humiliating acknowledgment that almost without exception every Congressional act of that long period was a victory for the growing slave-power of the South. The treaty with the Creek Indians in 1790, by which they agreed to return any fugitive slaves among them; the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, which permitted the owner to recover his *property* in any State to which he might have fled; the act of 1798 which gave the right of extending slavery in the territory ceded by Georgia and North Carolina, were early steps in the development of that power; and then for twenty years there was comparatively little controversy over it, as the number of new states entering the Union had not destroyed the balance of political power, and of the twenty states comprising the Union in 1819, just half were *free*, and half were *slave* States. When Missouri knocked for admission, there was long and bitter conflict, and the famous Missouri Compromise of 1820, permitting Missouri to enter as a Slave State, but forbidding slavery in all that part of

the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30' was really a concession to the South. The suppression of the Right of Petition for the nine years from 1836 until 1845; the failure of the Wilmot Proviso in 1846, to exclude slavery from all territory acquired from Mexico,—a country which, in 1829, had entered upon a course of gradual emancipation; the Compromise of 1850, which exacted such an exorbitant price for the entrance of California as a Free State; the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise; the Dred Scott decision in 1857—all these were legislative victories for the slave-holding states. But the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 was a victory for freedom, and the day of Emancipation was drawing near!





GARRISON, THE ABOLITIONIST

LESSON II

FREEDOM ACHIEVED

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS

Early Protests in the North. Foremost among the number of those who saw the wickedness of slavery was John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, who, in 1675, presented to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts a memorial against selling captured Indians into slavery, on the ground not only that it hindered the enlargement of Christ's Kingdom, but that "the selling of souls is a dangerous merchandise." Neither did he forget the poor Africans, but lamented "with a bleeding and burning passion" their sad ignorance and oppression. In 1700, Judge Samuel Sewall of Massachusetts wrote a convincing pamphlet called *The Selling of Joseph, a Memorial*, in which he declared that, "originally and naturally," there was no such thing as slavery; and that—

"These Ethiopians, as black as they are, seeing they are the sons and daughters of the first Adam, the brethren and sisters of the last Adam and the offspring of God, ought to be treated with respect agreeable."

Among the Society of Friends, there was intense opposition to "buying, selling, and holding men in slavery,"—and some of their most active and ardent preachers of righteousness were George Keith of

Pennsylvania, Mary Starbuck of Nantucket, John Woolman of New Jersey, and Anthony Bezet, the son of Huguenot parents, who not only proclaimed the iniquity of the slave-trade, but established and taught an evening school for the instruction of Negroes. This is one of the earliest instances on record of *Home Mission* work for this race, and it served to give a new view of their great advance in morals and religion to certain influential persons, too much inclined to regard with contempt this Christian effort. John Wesley and George Whitefield in their visits to the colonies were moved to denounce the system most emphatically, the former calling it "the sum of all villainies," and "the vilest that ever saw the sun;" the latter, deeply distressed by the "miseries of the poor Negro," described with tragic pathos their brutal treatment, and cruel scourgings by coarse and conscienceless masters. In 1770, Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport was stirred to righteous indignation by what he saw in his own town; for, in spite of the enactment of Rhode Island in 1652 against the *purchase* of Negroes, Newport had become the great slave-market of New England, and cargoes of miserable slaves were often landed near the very home and church of that noted minister. Not satisfied with boldly rebuking the members of his own congregation, and visiting from house to house in the interest of release for the slaves, he wrote in 1776 a dialogue on slavery, and published with it his famous sermon dedicating it to the Continental Congress. This has been called "the ablest document which had at that time, and on that theme appeared in the English language," and it had great influence on public opinion. Another Declaration of Independence to make memorable the year 1776!

Some Southern Sentiments. Had there been no turn in the tide of public sentiment in the South after the early days of the Republic, the darkest chapter in our history need never have been written, for the noblest statesmen looked forward to gradual emancipation as right and necessary. Washington declared that the abolition of slavery must take place, and that, too, at a period not remote,—and set free his own slaves. Thomas Jefferson uttered that oft-quoted sentiment:

"I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever."

Patrick Henry said:

"Slavery is detested; we feel its fatal effects; we deplore it with all the pity of humanity; I believe the time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil."

Madison and Monroe condemned the system; Henry Laurens of South Carolina, desiring to free his slaves in 1776, wrote his son of his abhorrence of slavery, and said:

"The day, I hope, is approaching when, from principles of gratitude, as well as justice, every man will strive to be foremost in showing his readiness to comply with the Golden Rule."

One of the most conspicuous examples of such compliance was that of another Southern hero, Gov. Edward Coles, whose Christian patriotism is too little known. Inheriting in Virginia hundreds of slaves whom he could not liberate according to the laws of his own state, he emigrated in 1819 to Illinois, and on the flat boat which took him and his possessions down the Ohio, he gathered his blacks about him by

night, and gave them their freedom, and in the new home supplied them with land, cabins, stock and tools, and aided them to become self-supporting. This is the testimony he gave in each deed of emancipation:

"Whereas I do not believe a man can have a right of property in his fellow-men,—I do therefore restore to the said ——— that inalienable liberty of which they have been deprived."

Such expressions of opinion and such conduct sufficiently illustrate what has been called the first stage in the sentiment of representative men in the South;—"Slavery is an evil, and we will soon get rid of it."

Colonization Schemes. Closely connected with the question of suppressing the slave-trade, and abolishing slavery, was that of disposing of the free Negroes and those smuggled into the States in defiance of the law, or delivered from such vessels as were seized by the commanders of U. S. war vessels. Even before the Revolution, Dr. Samuel Hopkins had outlined a plan of African colonization which he believed was in the interest of Christianity and civilization; and in an address delivered before the Providence Anti-Slavery Society in 1793, he stated the purpose of this suggested movement to be "to maintain the practise of Christianity in the sight of their now heathen brethren, endeavor to instruct and civilize them, and spread the knowledge of the gospel among them." Many others at the North shared his truly Christian and philanthropic spirit in advocating such a measure, and but for their honest purpose and the hope of greater gains in emancipation, this paragraph would have no place under the topic *Anti-Slavery Movements*. For in the South, the advocates of such a scheme were nearly all inspired by a desire

to "rid our country of a useless and pernicious, if not a dangerous portion of its population," and indirectly to render slavery and the slave-holder more secure. To Samuel J. Mills, one of the heroes of the famous Haystack Prayer-meeting—the centennial of which was observed with such enthusiasm at Williamstown in October, 1906,—may be attributed the influence which resulted in the organization in 1816 of the *American Colonization Society*. Full of a missionary zeal which inspired his bold, prophetic outburst, "*We can do it, if we will,*" and led to the formation of both the American Bible Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he found the condition of the Negro a subject of absorbing interest. His first desire was to better that condition by founding a colony somewhere between the Ohio and the Great Lakes; when that proved unwise, in Africa. Going to New Jersey to complete his theological studies he succeeded in interesting the Presbyterian ministers of that state; and it was one of these, Dr. Robert Finley, who called at Princeton the *first meeting* to consider the plan of sending Negro colonists to Africa. Later, he went to Washington in the interest of the project, and, finding in the South a movement similar, even if inspired by different motives, he was successful in convening the assembly which formed that society which sent S. J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess to Africa to secure a suitable site for the colony to be. Mills died before reaching home, but the enterprise was fairly started, and the *Free Republic of Liberia* is the result. Of less value and permanence, but of a certain curious interest, because of its private and feminine origin, was the scheme of Frances Wright, a young woman from Dundee, Scotland. A two-years' visit in New England intensified her interest in republicanism, and

the rights of man. Three years spent later in the family of Lafayette in France in no way lessened that interest, and she returned in 1824 to the States, this time landing at a Southern port. There she became aware of the horrors of slavery, and set about devising some way of proving the possibility of gradual abolition. Having proposed that sections of the public land should be purchased in the Cotton States, that colonies of one or two hundred slaves should be settled on each section, with a system of co-operative labor and industrial education to fit the slaves and their children for freedom, she proceeded to set an example of such a community. She purchased in 1825 a tract of twenty-four hundred acres, thirteen miles from Memphis, and planted a town she called *Nashoba*. Money for the experiment was freely given, but *Nashoba* was a failure, and in 1829 Miss Wright took her Negroes off to *Hayti*, where Benjamin Lundy was urging his countrymen to send their liberated slaves. How widespread was the movement of colonization, in spite of its inconsistencies of motive and policy, is evident from the fact that in 1828, there were no fewer than ninety-eight auxiliaries to the American Society, and more than half of them in the Border Slave States. If these schemes were of little avail for removing the free Negroes of that early time, how absurdly impossible is the modern suggestion, sometimes rashly hazarded, of transporting 10,000,000 blacks to the heart of Africa!

The Great as was the interest in this movement, it was not the Colonization Society which was to effect emancipation, gradual or instant. The way for that was prepared by a little band of men,—and women, whose hearts

and souls and consciences had been stirred to the depths by the injustice and cruelties of a *Slave Power* growing ever stronger and more daring. Even before the Revolution, there had been organized in Pennsylvania the first Abolition Society ever formed,—“The Society for the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage;” shortly after, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia had similar organizations. In 1804 was held the American Convention of Abolition Societies, a meeting which deplored the decline of interest in the cause, and especially the absence of delegates from the Southern Societies. So we find the term *abolition* of frequent occurrence in the earlier anti-slavery movements, but as the definite characterization of a new purpose and method, it seems to have appeared about the time of Garrison and *The Liberator*. A recent writer has defined an *Abolitionist* as “a person to whom the supreme interest in public affairs was the extinction of slavery,” and Benjamin Lundy may well be called the “Father of the Abolitionists.” A Quaker, born in New Jersey, he learned the saddler’s trade in West Virginia, where his righteous soul was vexed within him, as he saw great companies of suffering slaves pass thru on their way to the more Southern markets. Inspired with the Christian spirit of sacrifice and labor for others, he consecrated his life to a great cause, literally leaving all to obey the call of his Divine Master; he left his business, his home, his loving wife and children, and went about rousing consciences everywhere to the sin and curse of slavery. In 1821, he began the publication of the first Abolition paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and it was on one of Lundy’s tours to the Free States in the interests of this paper that he met in Boston William Lloyd

Garrison, then a young journalist editing the first temperance paper in the United States, *The National Philanthropist*. Garrison was even then a zealous enemy of slavery, but until he heard Lundy's criticism of colonization methods and his statement that the increase in the slave population for one year was greater than any diminution that society could effect in fifty, he had given his approval and his assistance to that organization. Later, he joined Lundy in Baltimore to help in the publication of *The Genius*, and while there, he saw the captain of a ship from *New England* take on board a cargo of slaves for New Orleans. This course he vigorously denounced, and was sentenced to fine and imprisonment; his fine was paid by a generous philanthropist, and after a seven weeks' imprisonment, he started on a career of lecturing in New England, and in 1831 issued in Boston *The Liberator*, chief organ of the extreme abolitionists, advocating immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Its frontispiece was as pronounced as its doctrine; it represented an auction at which "slaves, horses, and other cattle" were offered for sale, and a whipping post where a slave was being flogged; while in the back-ground was the capitol at Washington, with a flag inscribed LIBERTY, floating over the dome.

Many shared the views of Garrison and, in 1832, the *N. E. Anti-Slavery Society* was founded, and a year later at Philadelphia, the *American Anti-Slavery Society*. The year (1831) which saw *The Liberator* launched on its uncompromising career was marked by a violent uprising of the slaves in Virginia under Nat Turner, an uprising quickly subdued, but creating the wildest excitement thruout the South, out of all proportion to the actual harm done. This combi-

nation of events, and the counter-agitation caused by the new movement at the North brought the Southerners to the view,—“Slavery is good and right, and we will maintain it,”—and the irrepressible conflict was to grow more and more bitter until the end. Most eloquent and enthusiastic of Garrison’s allies was Wendell Phillips, who threw himself heart and soul into the righteous cause; but the ranks of the Abolitionists included, besides, such men as James G. Birney and John G. Whittier, William Ellery Channing and Frederick Douglass, Theodore Parker and Samuel J. May, Parker Pillsbury and Gerritt Smith; and such women as Lucretia Mott—the gentle Quakeress—Lydia Maria Child and Lucy Stone. This devoted band of earnest workers were but few against the many opposing or indifferent forces, and scorn, abuse, physical danger, and sometimes death itself were thrust upon them; but their service to the cause is the better appreciated in view of the fact that, until the formation of the Republican party in 1854, nearly all the political leaders, ministers, college professors, and influential men had held aloof, or openly condemned the Abolition movement. After Benjamin Lundy had made, in the chapel of a Baptist church in Boston, that address which won Garrison to the cause, the pastor denounced the agitation of the slave question in New England, declared that the North had no business to meddle with the Constitution, and dismissed the meeting. What changes hath God wrought!

Literary Influences. The list of anti-slavery journals was a long one, nor were those publications found only in the North, as the appearance of *The Emancipator* in Tennessee in 1819, *The Abolition Intelligencer* in Kentucky in 1822, and *The*

Liberalist in New Orleans in 1828 abundantly proves. Besides these, over fifty daily and weekly newspapers opened their columns to the literature of emancipation, and there was a constantly increasing output of pamphlets, appeals, reports, orations, tracts, and treatises, bearing on the absorbing question. The works of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other English agitators were widely read, and American writers rose to the occasion with volumes of indisputable facts and convincing arguments, or of burning appeal and poetic fire, kindling indignation and rousing sleeping consciences. Nearly all the makers of the new American literature were friends of the anti-slavery cause, and the New England literary group, its ardent champions. Emerson in his quiet inspiration, Bryant in active journalism, Whittier and Lowell in stirring stanzas of freedom, represented the best Christian sentiment of a nation awakening to its sense of brotherhood, right and justice,—a nation to awaken in a later generation to its sense of missionary obligation to these same black brothers. There is no uncertain sound in these ringing words of Whittier:

“What, ho! *our* countrymen in chains!
The whip on WOMAN’S shrinking flesh!
Our soil yet reddening with the stains
Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh!
What! mothers from their children riven!
What! God’s own image bought and sold!
AMERICANS to market driven,
And bartered as the brute for gold!”

In the Biglow Papers, Lowell brought to the movement the saving grace of humor, but even in the New England vernacular he was expressing the stern New England conscience. In *Jonathan to John* he wrote:

"God means to make this land, John,
 Clear thru, from sea to sea,
 Believe an' understand, John,
 The wuth o' bein' free.
 Ole Uncle S. sez he, 'I guess,
 God's price is high,' sez he;
 But nothin' else than wut He sells
 Wears long, an' thet J. B.
 May larn, like you an' me!"

And in more solemn strain he sang:

"We see dimly in the present what is small and
 what is great,
 Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the
 iron helm of fate.
 But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's
 din,
 List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic
 cave within—
 "They enslave their children's children, who make
 compromise with sin."

It was, in very truth, the *weak arm* of a woman which wielded the pen that stirred to the depths the heart of the American people, winning sympathy for the oppressed, and setting forth the need and the possibility of redressing such unspeakable wrongs. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared in 1852, "an irresistible plea, not against a section, but a system;" and the story is told that when, years afterward, President Lincoln first met Mrs. Stowe, he took her hand in both of his and said, "Is this the little woman, who made this big war?" All honor to the noble Christian women who anticipated and made possible the *Home Mission* efforts of to-day!

The Underground Railroad. The story of Eliza in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, fleeing in desperation from her miserable captivity, and enduring the horrors of violent pursuit, is an apt illustration

of the natural impulse to escape from a bondage often worse than death itself. Occasional flights across Mason and Dixon's line early occurred, but after the War of 1812, when soldiers, returning from Canada, brought back the news of "a land of freedom towards the North Star," their number was greatly increased. The slaves, with the marvelous faith of their race, and equal ignorance of distance and danger, made plans of escape which must have miserably failed, had not the natural impulse of Christian hearts prompted benevolent men and women at the North to aid them in every possible way. Secretly yet courageously, often at the risk of life and property, these forerunners of the modern missionary movement for a needy people organized and carried on most effectively a system of helping the fleeing slave to evade the pursuit of the slave-hunter so fiercely on his track. This institution was known as *The Underground Railroad*, and connected with its workings were many men of wealth and influence. Levi Coffin of Cincinnati was familiarly called its President, but Thomas Garrett of Delaware was undoubtedly its most efficient agent, having by actual record assisted over 2700 slaves to escape, besides those not counted in his earliest operations. The following is Henry Wilson's description of the method and management of this great philanthropic movement.

"The practical working of the system required *stations* at convenient distances, or rather the houses of persons who held themselves in readiness to receive fugitives, singly, or in numbers, at any hour of day or night, to feed and shelter, to clothe, if necessary, and to conceal until they could be dispatched with safety to some other point along the route. There were others who held themselves in like readiness to take them by private or public conveyance. If by the former

mode, they generally went in the night by such routes and with such disguises as gave the best warrant against detection, either by the slave-catchers, or their many sympathizers scattered far too thickly even among the Free States. When the wide extent of territory embraced by the Middle States and all the Western States east of the Mississippi is borne in mind, and it is remembered that the whole was dotted with these *stations* and covered with a net work of imaginary routes, not found, indeed, in the railway guides or on the railway maps; that each *station* had its brave and faithful men and women, ever on the alert to seek out and succor the coming fugitive, and equally intent on deceiving and thwarting his pursuer; that the numbers actually were very great, many counting their trophies by hundreds, and some by thousands,—there are materials from which to estimate, approximately, at least, the amount of labor performed, of cost and risk incurred on the despised and deprecated *Underground Railroad*, and something of the magnitude of the results secured. For romantic interest, heroic bravery and persistent courage, incidents might here be found equal to any in the annals of the Revolution or the Rebellion."

THE GREAT REBELLION

John Brown's Among the many active promoters of
Raid. the *Underground Railroad* was John

Brown, a man of New England birth, a lineal descendant of the Pilgrims and an inheritor of the stern but righteous Puritanic spirit. Early removed to the Western Reserve, he grew up amid the straitened circumstances of pioneer life, always deeply conscientious and religious, desiring no higher object in life than to relieve the suffering and release the oppressed. In 1847, then living in Springfield, Mass., he disclosed to Frederick Douglass a plan he had made, but never executed, of freeing the slaves by establishing a fugitive refuge among the natural

hiding-places of the mountains reaching from New York State to the Gulf. With twenty-five picked and well-armed men, posted at suitable intervals, over a distance of twenty-five miles, sallies, he thought, could be made out into the fields to persuade the most reckless and daring of the slaves to join them; and so, by destroying the value and security of slave property, a general movement for freedom might begin. Little did he realize the strength and tenacity of the Slave Power! When the great fight was on in *Bleeding Kansas*, he went thither, first to carry arms and ammunition to his four sons settled there, and then to engage in the struggle to save that land for freemen and their liberties. When the struggle there was over, the mind of the gray and grizzled warrior continued to brood over the wrongs of the oppressed with a constantly growing conviction that he was called of God, like the Jewish heroes of old, to attack and to deliver. Returning to the plan of 1847, he sought aid from the New Englanders who had so forwarded the Free State cause in Kansas, and among them were some so eager for something more immediate than the delays of the peace policy, that they were won by Brown's strong personality, and aided him, tho understanding his plan but imperfectly. Such men as *Theodore Parker*, *Gerritt Smith*, *Dr. S. G. Howe*, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson*, and *F. B. Sanborn* were of this number. After much preliminary conference, Brown, having abandoned his original idea, marched on *Harper's Ferry*, vainly imagining that the slaves were ready to rise against their masters and fight for liberty, if only there was a leader and a plan. The story of the raid is soon told; the quick surprise on the night of October 16, 1859; the ready capture of the U. S. Army and a number of prominent prisoners by

a little force of *nineteen* men, fourteen white and five black men; the holding of the town for thirty hours; then the arrival of Col. Robert E. Lee and the defeat of the brave little company. A trial, a condemnation, and an execution!!! And to "what purpose was this waste?" Varying as are the estimates of John Brown's conduct, there is little doubt that the man himself was inspired by the highest motives and the firmest faith in God, and love for his suffering fellowmen. A system that required his execution must needs lie under heavy condemnation. So the effect at the North was to deepen the conviction that slavery was absolutely and essentially wrong; and at the South, to strengthen the sentiment of hatred against the North and every anti-slavery man or method, a hatred soon to burst forth in war and bloodshed. John Brown's spirit was stronger than his arms, and when, a few months later, a Massachusetts regiment started for the scene of conflict, it was to an extemporized song, caught up by regiment after regiment till it became the marching song of the Union armies,

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
His soul goes marching on!"

The Republican Party. The question of slavery had always been one of more or less importance in politics, and in the Presidential campaign of 1840, the anti-slavery men for the first time made it a definite political issue and under the name of the *Liberty Party* presented their own candidate for the Presidency. This was *James G. Birney*, a Southerner by birth, but a man of strong character and pronounced, but not extreme, anti-slavery views, who had written in 1835:

"The contest is becoming, has become—not one

alone of freedom for the blacks, but of freedom for the whites."

That was the famous log-cabin and hard cider campaign with its cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too;" so only a handful of votes was cast for Birney, but the standard raised by the *Liberty Party* was to march to victory only twenty years later. By 1848, this party, having gained new strength, took the new name *Free Soil*, and added to its ranks such illustrious sons of Massachusetts as *Samuel Hoar*, *Charles Sumner*, *Henry Wilson*, and *N. P. Banks*. The Whig Party in Massachusetts included many anti-slavery men known as *Conscience Whigs*; in the ranks of the Democratic Party, especially in New York State, were men of similar view called *Barnburners*, because "they would burn the barn to get rid of the rats;" and these together met in a *Free Soil* Convention in Buffalo and proclaimed their principles, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." Their candidate was not elected, but their principles were to re-appear in the new *Republican Party*, born in 1854, but holding its first convention in Philadelphia in June, 1856. It has been said that this convention was made up of the heart, the independence, and the brains of all parties,—"politics with a heart and conscience in it." The slavery issue was paramount in the declaration of principles, and one of their mottoes gave concise expression to their doctrine: "FREEDOM NATIONAL, SLAVERY SECTIONAL." John C. Fremont was then nominated as candidate for the nation's highest office, and the rallying cry of that campaign was *Fremont and Freedom*. That cry did not bear the new party on to victory, but it won substantial gains, and held within itself the promise of success.

"If months have well nigh won the field
What may not four years do?"

The Election of Lincoln. *Four years did win it!* In the Philadelphia Convention of 1856, 110 votes were cast for Abraham Lincoln for the second place on the ticket, but higher honors, graver responsibilities, and heavier burdens were to be laid upon him. Always hating slavery and abhorring its cruelties and crimes, yet his loyalty to the Constitution and the Union had not permitted him to become an extreme abolitionist. But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the effort to extend slavery in the territories roused him to a new interest in politics. By his help the Republicans carried Illinois for *Fremont and Freedom*, and in 1858, that party announced the Hon. Abraham Lincoln as the unanimous choice for Senator on the expiration of the term of Stephen A. Douglas. In his speech of acceptance, he rose unconsciously to the height of prophecy when he said:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved,—I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

The series of joint debates then carried on between *Honest Abe* and *The Little Giant* resulted in a popular majority for Lincoln, when the election came; but the legislative vote stood 54 for Douglas against 46 for him. A higher mission was reserved for Lincoln than to represent his state in Congress. The Republican Convention of 1860, after adopting a radical anti-slavery platform, chose "the rail-splitter of the Sangamon" to be its candidate for President, and he accepted, "imploring the assistance of divine Providence." A campaign of intense and thrilling excitement followed, and on November 6, the famous vic-

tory was won and the Slave Power destined to its final overthrow. The voice of the people had been as the voice of God, and the next ruler of the nation was to be Abraham Lincoln—

“The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.”

Secession of South Carolina. Secession was not a new idea, nor a purely Southern sentiment! But for thirty years, a small class of extreme politicians in South Carolina had hinted openly that such a course was not only possible but desirable. During the presidential campaign of 1860, the hints became threatening murmurs of disunion. November 3, *the day before the election*, Gov. Gist of South Carolina addressed a message to the Legislature of that state, recommending that in the event of a Republican victory, a convention be immediately called to consider some effective measure of redress. Lincoln was elected, this recommendation was adopted, and on December 20, South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Secession, amid the vain, exultant cries—“*The Union is dissolved!*” Its declaration of causes is full and explicit, dealing chiefly with supposed violations on the part of the Northern States of the principles of the Constitution, by unwarrantable interference with the rights of the states, especially in the matter of slavery; for it was their imperilled institution which moved their fear and indignation, and gave motive to the plea that it was possible, legal, and right to withdraw from the Federal Union. However mistaken were their accusations and their logic, it is but justice to the Southern point of view to give the following extract from the Ordinance of Secession:

"We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen other states and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to claim the property of the citizens of other states. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures to servile insurrection. For twenty-five years, this agitation has been steadily increasing, until now it has secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the form of the Constitution, a sectional party has found, within that article establishing the Executive Department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the Common Government because he has declared that 'Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free,' and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction."

To this the North replied with explanations, denials, and counter-charges of violated law and acts of open hostility; and urged upon the South the spirit of acquiescence in the election of a genuine Northerner, as the North had for thirty years submitted to the voice of the people when they chose for President either a Southerner or a Northern man with Southern principles. But it was too late! The little rift had widened, until the music was mute, drowned in the discord and dismay of battle!

Organization of the Confederacy. In the message sent by Gov. Gist to the Legislature of his state is found the following sentence:

"The indications from many of the Southern States justify the conclusion that the secession of South Carolina will be immediately followed, if not adopted simultaneously, by them, and by the entire South."

This prediction was fulfilled in part. Within three months after the election of Lincoln, all the Cotton States—Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had seceded from the Union, and made provision for a probable war, by seizing nearly all the U. S. forts within their borders, and procuring arms and ammunition for their volunteers. In Georgia, the Empire State of the South, there was long and earnest discussion, for Alexander H. Stephens, the foremost citizen and statesman of the state, vigorously opposed the threatened measure on the ground that there was no immediate danger from the newly-elected President, whose hands would be tied by a hostile majority in the Senate, the House, and the Supreme Court, and even in the matter of obtaining a Cabinet to aid him. But that *Gordian Knot* would be cut when the fulness of time had come! The argument which finally prevailed with Georgia was that of one who said, "We can make better terms out of the Union than in it." Early in February, 1861, a convention of delegates from six of the Seceded States met in Montgomery, Ala., and there quickly organized a new government called *The Confederate States of America*, and it was only a brief matter of time when North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas should join the new republic. Jefferson Davis was its President, Alex. H.

Stephens its Vice-president, and it was based upon a Constitution closely resembling that of the United States, but the provisions regarding slavery were all in the interests of its continuance and development. In one of Stephens's speeches delivered after he had acceded to the action of his state, he contrasted the fundamental ideas underlying the Constitution of 1787 and this of the South in 1861. He said:

"Jefferson and the leading statesmen of his day believed slavery wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. * * * Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell (?) when the storm came and the wind blew. Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests upon the great truth that the Negro is not the equal of the white man; that slavery—subordination to the white race—is his natural and normal condition. This—our new government—is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."

Strange interpretation of Christian teaching and the Divine law of humanity and brotherhood! But the stormy winds of the next four years were to prove *which* government was built upon the sand.

The First Attack. Events were crowding thick and fast, and the day of Lincoln's inauguration was close at hand. Leaving his home in Springfield, Ill., on the 11th of February, he started for Washington, passing thru the great states of Indiana, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, addressing the people in many cities, and receiving everywhere the most enthusiastic demonstrations of

loyalty and affection. But in Baltimore, there were no committees to welcome, no citizens to offer hospitality. Instead, he passed thru in the night, by special train, in response to the urgent entreaties of friends, who warned him of a discovered plot to assassinate him as he passed thru that city. On the 4th of March, he delivered his inaugural address, one of the great American classics, in which he stood firmly by the principles of national unity and liberty, but appealed most urgently for peace. These are his closing words:—

"I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Tho passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot's grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

But even as he spoke, the war spirit hovered over him, and peace was not to be. April 12, the first shot was fired on Fort Sumter; thirty-four hours of heroic resistance and Major Anderson was obliged to surrender to the Confederate summons. The news flashed over the wires; the North was ablaze with patriotic indignation, and loyalty to the Union flag. The Slave-Holders' Rebellion had begun!

PRELIMINARY EMANCIPATION ACTS

Butler's Contrabands. Then, for four long sad years, grim War stalked thru the land. Fields were laid waste, cities destroyed, homes and hearts made desolate. Courage, loyalty, and magnificent generalship were limited to neither side. The boys in blue responded to the President's call and marched to their rallying cry,

"We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong."

The boys in gray, with equal sincerity, patriotism, and devotion, rallied about the *Stars and Bars*. On both sides was there alternate joy and sorrow, shame and honor, defeat and victory, but thru it all ran *one increasing purpose* to be accomplished in God's own good time. But *this* is not a history of the Civil War, only an attempt to trace the successive steps which led to final, full and free emancipation. When the war began, the controlling thought at the North was to preserve the Union, and the question of slavery dropped for a time into the background: but *Man proposes, God disposes*. Gradually the idea gained force that the better hope was, *not* of a return to conditions unchanged, but rather to use the war in some way to banish a system so un-American and so un-Christian. So it proved, tho in unexpected ways. On the 20th of May, 1861, Gen. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts was ordered to the command of Fortress Monroe, and on the evening of the second day after his arrival, three Negroes escaped, and gave themselves up to the Union picket, complaining that their master, Colonel Mallory, was about to take them to North Carolina to work on the rebel fortifications there. In the morning, they were taken before Gen. Butler, who needed laborers, and on the same principle by which he would have seized and used Col. Mallory's spades or horses, he declared they were *Contraband of War*, and set them at work. Then the Negroes continued to come, in tens, twenties, and thirties, until the various camps contained over 900 Contrabands. A special commissioner of Negro affairs was appointed; an appeal was made to the government, the Secretary of War approved, and two months later Congress passed

the bill for "making free, slaves used by Rebel forces," and in March of '63 forbade the army and navy to return fugitives. This was the beginning of the end, what a Southern Senator called the first "of a series of measures loosing all bonds." The word *contraband* was caught up with delight; the country welcomed the happy solution of a troublesome question; and as a Northern historian has expressed it: "*An epigram abolished slavery in the United States.*"

Premature Proclamations. Late in August, the month that made the foregoing bill a law, severe war measures were taken by Gen. John C. Fremont, then in command of the Western department of the Union forces. He made his headquarters at St. Louis, fortifying this and many other important points against the formidable approaches of the enemy. For the slave-holders of Missouri were putting forth every effort to strengthen the Rebel cause and forces in that state. Gen. Fremont, believing the Union cause in great danger, issued a proclamation declaring martial law, threatening death to all armed men found within the army lines, confiscating the property, and freeing the slaves of all citizens of Missouri in arms against the government. This pleased the extreme loyalists and anti-slavery men, but madened the slave-holders and their sympathizers, of whom they had many even at the North, and seriously interfered with attempts to keep the Border States from seceding. President Lincoln disapproved of some features of the proclamation, and ordered it so modified as to conform to the Act of Congress above mentioned, by which only such property could be confiscated as was used for insurrectionary purposes. In May of the following year, a similar measure was

taken by Maj. Gen. David Hunter in the South, when he declared the states of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina under martial law, and the slaves held therein to be forever free. Again the President was obliged, in spite of the criticism of those who favored these hasty and unwarranted acts, to issue a statement that this was done without the knowledge and consent of the government, and that the decision as to setting free the slaves of any state could not be left to commanders in the field. These were trying times for the Commander-in-chief; on one side men were urging him to quick action, and condemning his delay; on the other his loyalty to the Constitution, not diminished by all his intense hatred of the system, prevented his taking any course except that best adapted to preserve the Union, with or without slavery.

Proposed Compensation. How deeply the heart of the great President was moved by the question insistently demanding some definite solution, how conscientious and God-fearing he was, appears in the reply made to a delegation of clergymen from Chicago, who vigorously urged upon him some immediate measure for emancipation: "I can assure you that the subject is on my mind by day and by night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do." As realized by him, the next step in the Divine purpose was a policy recommended by Lincoln in his message of March 6, 1862. He knew how much depended upon the Border States,—Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri,—states nominally in the Union, but with divided sentiments, sending recruits to both armies, and insisting that the war should be carried on in such a way as to save "*their peculiar, Divine and humanizing institution.*"

He knew, too, how eagerly the Confederacy hoped to win them definitely to its side, and how probable it was, that in case of Southern success, they would be lost entirely to the Union. The exact purpose of the President in his proposal is best seen by some extracts from the Resolution presented to Congress:

"Resolved, That the United States ought to co-operate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system. * * * The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. * * * The point is not that all the states tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation, but that while the offer is made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more Southern, that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. * * * In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject."

Many and contrary were the opinions evoked by this plan; the debate in Congress was short and sharp, but the resolution passed, and the nation was committed to assist the measure of *compensated emancipation* in any state desiring it. But not a single Slave State ever claimed such assistance, tho it was a Missouri Senator who had commended the measure as conciliatory and financially desirable, saying in debate, "Why, sir, *ninety-six* days of this war would pay for every slave in the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and the District of Columbia." Three months later, Lincoln invited delegates from these states to the White House, and appealed for their help in the matter, urging that peace, union, and freedom

might thereby be attained. But they made excuses, and went their way. The only apparent result of the Congressional Act was to prove the willingness of the Union to take upon itself the additional burden of paying for the slaves held in the Border States.

Abolition in the D. of C. and the Territories. The transfer of the seat of the National Government to

Washington, on the banks of the Potomac, may be accounted as one of the triumphs of the Slave Power in its earliest development. To be established in the midst of a community of slave-holders, to be influenced by the demoralizing tendencies of an unrighteous system, to have under its direct control the affairs of the District of Columbia,—all this was to commit the Federal Government to a partnership in evil, and to give sanction to the institution which it could never have gained from individual states alone. It was therefore most fit and significant that in this district should have been driven the entering wedge of abolition. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts had the honor of introducing in December, 1861, the bill which in April, 1862, was made a law, and provided for *immediate emancipation* of all slaves in the District of Columbia, giving compensation to their owners, an average of \$300 for each bondman thus set free. Naturally the plan roused bitter opposition on the part of the Southern Congressmen, and there was vigorous and brilliant debate in the legislative halls. A new element had entered into the question, a recognition of what Seward had earlier called a "*higher law*," an authority higher than any legal enactment; the leaven of Christian principle was at work. One eloquent advocate of the measure paid a glowing tribute to the Great Teacher and his message to mankind,

from which has sprung the new, and better civilization of to-day.

"What was your Declaration at Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776, that *All Men* are created equal, but a reiteration of the great truth announced by the Apostle of the Nazarene? What but this is the sublime principle of your Constitution, the equality of all men before the law? To-day we deliberate whether we shall make good, by legislation, this vital principle of the Constitution, here in the capital of the Republic."

Charles Sumner, again representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts after the years of suffering caused by the murderous assault by Brooks of South Carolina, on the occasion of his memorable speech in 1856, *The Crime against Kansas*, spoke with true prophetic utterance when he said:

"It is the first instalment of the great debt which we all owe to an enslaved race, and will be recognized as one of the victories of humanity. When slavery gives way to freedom at the National Capital, the good will not stop here, it must proceed. What God and nature decree, rebellion cannot arrest."

And it did not stop there! Two months later, Congress abolished slavery in all the National Territories, thus confirming the Republican doctrine declared before the war began, that slavery should be sectional, freedom national. One month later still, the President gave his approval to the Confiscation Bill, which provided that slaves of rebels coming into possession of the government should be considered captives of war, and given their freedom; that fugitive slaves should not be surrendered; that persons in the military and naval service surrendering fugitives should be dismissed; and that the President might employ the Negroes as he thought best for the suppression of the



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THE STUFF OF WHICH MEN ARE MADE

Rebellion. Thus, freedom followed in the wake of the Union armies, but affected only the rebellious, not the loyalist slave-owners.

EMANCIPATION ACCOMPLISHED

Lincoln's First Proclamation. On the 19th of August, Horace Greeley published a letter to the President, entitled "*The Prayer of Twenty Millions*," in which he claimed that there was not one champion of the Union cause on the face of this wide earth who believed the Rebellion could be put down without abolishing slavery, "its inciting cause." Three days later, Lincoln issued his memorable reply, containing the oft-quoted words which showed his official attitude upon the question that was rending the nation:

"My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it. If I could save it, by freeing all the slaves, I would do it, and if I could do it, by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

In his heart of hearts, Abraham Lincoln believed that without the Union, permanent liberty for either the black race or the white would be impossible upon this continent. But he believed also that the day was fast coming when the necessities of war, as well as of humanity, would call for such action. Even while he wrote his reply to Horace Greeley, there was lying in his desk an unsigned proclamation, awaiting some Union victory to serve as the seal of Divine approval. The summer of '63 was full of the sadness of defeat, but when in September news came of McClellan's success at Antietam,—“the bloodiest day that America ever saw,”—and Lee's withdrawal from Maryland,

the President summoned his Cabinet, told them in grave and faltering tones of the promise he had made to himself and *to his Maker*, to proclaim emancipation as soon as the rebel army was driven out of Maryland, and read to them once more the proclamation which has immortalized his name. Suggesting again some form of compensation, some method of colonization, and still the hope of restoring the disturbed relations of the states, the Commander-in-chief of the Army and the Navy appointed January 1, 1863, as the date on which all persons held as slaves in any states or parts of states then in rebellion, *should be then, thenceforward, and forever free*. On the 22d of September, the nation and the world received this proclamation, signed by the President and his Secretary of State, and bearing the great seal of the Republic. The nation was moving rapidly toward the goal of universal freedom. It was learning, too, "*the wuth o' bein' free*."

The Final Enactment. The reception of this warning proclamation seemed to justify the previous hesitation of the President. Some opponents charged that the act "would unite the South and divide the North." The Democrats raised the campaign cry that the War for Union had been changed into a War for the Negro, and in spite of the joy and rejoicing of the real lovers of humanity everywhere, the fall elections showed great Republican losses in the Middle and Western States. But "*the kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man*" swerved not from his conscientious course, and when New Year's Day, 1863, arrived, after the hundred days of grace, his second and absolute proclamation was issued. This made all the slaves in the Rebel States or parts of

states forever free; enjoined upon the freemen so made abstinence from violence except in self-defence, and willingness to labor faithfully for reasonable wages; and opened for them the doors of entrance into army and navy service. The closing sentence deserves exact quotation:

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

Slavery had received its mortal wound, but it was not yet dead; it was to writhe in anguish yet many a day. Step by step the slaves were freed as the conquering Union armies advanced thru the rebellious states; but even this edict and the successes of war did only what Lincoln said to Greeley, "freed some and left others alone." Not until March, 1865, were the families of colored soldiers freed by law from the power of the slave-masters. Universal freedom was not attained until a Constitutional Amendment,—the famous Thirteenth,—was passed by both Houses, accepted by a majority of the states, and formally adopted December 18, 1865. Then died slavery in the United States, and the land was free, "*clear thru, from sea to sea.*"

Close of the War. The immediate result of the Great Proclamation was not peace, but a new girding for battle, for the "*death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word.*" The Seceded States drew even more closely together in sympathetic loyalty to what must inevitably be a "lost cause;" the North was more and more inspired by Christian sentiment, and the spirit of human brother-

hood; and foreign nations looked on with deeper interest and stronger appreciation of the moral elements involved, but with a diminishing prospect of intervention. Two years of bitter conflict were yet to come; years of suffering and sacrifice at home and on the field; years in which the South was to fight with courage and desperation for the preservation of their Confederate cause, and the North with hope and enthusiasm for the freedom of other men; years in which the Negroes were to prove, as slaves and soldiers both, that they deserved the freedom granted them at so great a cost. When the door of military service was opened to them, they entered it by thousands, greatly increasing the strength of the Union armies; they were brave, obedient, and faithful, and their war record does credit to themselves and their honored Northern leaders. Equally faithful were those who remained on the plantations, caring for the homes and families of masters who had left all behind to follow the Stars and Bars;—a humble people worth fighting for, worth working for when the war was over. Independence Day, 1863, saw Lee retreating after the decisive battle of the great conflict; and in November of that year, at the dedication of the Cemetery consecrated to the burial of those brave soldiers killed at *Gettysburg*, Lincoln delivered an address which ranks with the world's masterpieces of eloquence and power. These are its closing words:

"It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us,—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion,—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain,—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom,—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Even greater and more appealing to the hearts of his loyal people was Lincoln's second Inaugural,—“the finest State paper in all history”—delivered in March, 1865, while the war was still dragging out its weary length, but with victory close at hand. Humility and faith, charity and conviction mark the words which came from the heart of a president who spoke as never American President has spoken before or since:

“The Almighty has his own purposes. ‘Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.’ If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope,—fervently do we pray,—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman’s 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword; as was said 3000 years ago, so still it must be said: *‘The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.’* With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation’s wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans,—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

It was not the Divine will that the struggle should continue. The end was near. April 9, at Appomatox Court House, Lee—the Christian hero of the Confederacy—surrendered to Grant—the magnanimous com-

mander of the Union forces. On the 14th, while Gen. Anderson was replacing the old flag on Fort Sumter on the anniversary of its capture just four years previous, the formal proclamation went over the land that the war was ended. The Union was saved, and the fetters had fallen from 4,000,000 slaves.

"Bow down, dear Land, for thou has found release!
Thy God, in these distempered days,
Hath taught thee the sure wisdom of His ways,
And through thine enemies hath wrought thy peace!
Bow down in prayer and praise!
No poorest in thy borders but may now
Lift to the juster skies a man's enfranchised brow.
O Beautiful! my Country! ours once more!"



1

2

3



OUR MARTYR CHIEF



LESSON III

DEVELOPMENT BEGUN

RECONSTRUCTION BY LAW

The Fourteenth Amendment. The joy and thanksgiving of peace were soon rudely disturbed by foul assassination and bitter mourning. At the close of the very day on which the news was spread abroad that *this cruel war* was really over, the wires flashed over the land a message that plunged the nation into the depths of grief and indignation, of horror and humiliation. Lincoln had fallen at the hand of a ruthless murderer, whose dramatic cry, "*Sic semper tyrannis*," seemed to sound the knell of doom to Cabinet and Federal Government. But tho that was spared a suffering people, yet the loss of

"Our Martyr Chief
Whom late the nation he had led
With ashes on her head,
Wept with the passion of an angry grief,"

was a sore trial to faith and hope. Christian sentiment asked, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Political opinion was divided as to the merits of Lincoln's probably lenient policy in dealing with the conquered States of the Confederacy, and some even tried to interpret the Divine Providence from this standpoint; but all eyes turned anxiously to Andrew Johnson, who had quietly taken the oath of

office the day following the assassination. The first great question to be answered was,—Are the Seceded States to be considered as still in the Union as “wayward sisters,” or are they out of the Union needing to be brought back again? If the latter, then *how*? One sad chapter in our nation’s history must needs be darkly written before that question could be fully answered, and the *wayward* states restored to right and practical relations with the Union they had left. Harsh and bitter conflicts were there; wrong and suffering on the part of both the whites and blacks; but in this brief record, reference can be made to a few only of those measures most vitally important to the Freedmen. One of the conditions of restoration was the adoption of *The Thirteenth Amendment*, and when that was declared accomplished in December, 1865, *legal* emancipation was achieved. But the cruel laws passed by nearly all the Southern States,—the Black Code of that period,—made freedom more a theory than a fact. The rights and privileges of free men were denied the blacks; they were compelled, under heavy penalties, to hire themselves to white planters on the latter’s own terms; forbidden to leave their place of employment without written permission, or to be absent after dark without arrest and punishment. Should they leave their place of service, they might be lodged in jail by any white man, and the costs of identification and recovery charged to themselves; they were not allowed to have in their possession a gun, pistol, or knife; to keep live-stock, or raise garden produce for themselves, or even to trade in such provisions. To be found with corn, cotton, or meat of any kind in their possession was considered a sure sign of theft, and they were treated accordingly; and a plantation Negro found unemployed by a white was

treated as a vagabond. No meetings of any kind could be held without a license, and the weight of burdensome restriction was unbearable. Disappointed at Johnson's policy, Congress took upon itself the work of *reconstruction*, and in view of existing conditions in the South, passed in June, 1866, *The Fourteenth Amendment* to the Constitution in five sections, the first of which made *the Negro a citizen*.

"Sec. I. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The Fifteenth Amendment. Had the Southern States seen fit to adopt at once the *Fourteenth Amendment*, the story of succeeding years would doubtless have been written in far different phrase. But they hoped for better terms, rejected the amendment, and brought upon themselves the harsher measures of *reconstruction* which Congress then devised. Military governments were instituted in all the Confederate States except Tennessee, which alone had met the requirement of the proposed amendment,—and the Commanders were instructed to arrange for new state organizations by enrolling *as voters* all adult citizens, black or white, who should send delegates to a convention. This convention was to prepare a new Constitution, permitting the same condition of suffrage; and when this Constitution was ratified by the popular vote, and approved by Congress; and when the Legislature, elected by virtue of it, rati-

fied the *Fourteenth Amendment*, then each state so reorganized should be restored to the Union. For fifteen months or more, the reluctant states were under martial law, and it was not until July, 1870, that the process of *reconstruction* was considered complete. Meanwhile, measures were pending in the National Congress looking toward universal manhood suffrage for the Negroes, so recently freed from slavery. As early as December, 1865, a bill was introduced for the purpose of granting this privilege within the borders of the District of Columbia, and after much opposition was passed; a few days later, another was passed, conferring this right upon the black citizens of the Territories. Again the wedge had entered, and the final outcome was not far to seek. Two years later, (1869) Mr. Boutwell of Massachusetts presented the resolution which, as finally adopted, became *The Fifteenth Amendment* to the Constitution of the United States. Bitter opponents there were, indeed, but the most telling arguments in favor were based by some upon the belief that suffrage is a natural right; others thought that the Negroes who had fought so valiantly in the war deserved the full rights of citizenship; and others still, that the Freedmen needed the ballot for protection against oppression. The politicians hoped much from large additional votes for the Republican party which carried the measure; but in spite of that element of partisan desire, the better judgment of the North was on the side of the measure, inspired by just, humane, and Christian motives. The words in which President Grant, in March, 1870, conveyed to Congress by special message the fact that the necessary three-fourths of the states had ratified the amendment, show the spirit which inspired, and the hope which animated the people of the North.

"The measure which makes at once four millions of the people voters who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not eligible to become so, with the assertion that, at the time of the Declaration of Independence, was fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race, and regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, that black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect, is indeed a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free government to the present time. Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived directly from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism, and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly enfranchised race to the importance of their striving in every honorable manner to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To a race more favored, heretofore, by our laws, I would say, withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizen."

The Reign of Terror. Had this sentiment prevailed, in North and South alike, this paragraph had not been written. Some there were, among the defeated champions of a "lost cause," who accepted the inevitable, and like Gen. Longstreet could say, "If every one will meet the crisis with proper appreciation of our condition and obligations, the sun will rise tomorrow on a happy people." But the revolution had been too violent, the transition too swift, and the proud spirit of the ruling class at the South could not brook the sudden rise to power and equality of those who for centuries had been their servants, slaves, and chattels. From the North came many unprincipled adventurers, with all their worldly goods in one small bag, but greedy for gain of wealth and power. The hated *Carpet-baggers* deserved perhaps the contempt and ostracism they encountered, as they made a tool of the Negro, and wrought political havoc in the land of Lee and Stonewall Jackson; but

it was the ignorant, unskilled and dreaded black who suffered most at the hands of those who would prevent his exercise of the newly granted privileges. Very soon after the close of the war, secret societies had been formed for this purpose, bearing such suggestive names as *The Brotherhood*, *The Pale Faces*, *The Invisible Empire*, *The Knights of the White Camellia*; but all were merged at last into the dark and terrible organization known as the *Klu Klux Klan*. Started at first, half in fun, by some young men in Tennessee, simply to frighten the superstitious blacks and keep them from their all too common pilfering expeditions, it became the deadly instrument of terror, torture, and death, for the furtherance of political ends. Masked riders, well armed and wearing long white gowns, patrolled the country in the darkness of night, frightening like ghosts the timid Northerner or Negro, breaking into cabins, whipping, shooting, even hanging some defenseless occupant for offenses real or imaginary. These brutal outrages were most frequent in the years from 1868 to 1870, but gradually ceased, owing partly to the severe measures taken by the government at Washington, and partly to the more legitimate means taken by the Southern whites to regain political and industrial supremacy. Dark as is this picture of a *reign of terror*, the provocation must be pictured, too, as George S. Merriam has done it, in this striking phrase, in "The Negro and the Nation":

"It was the spectacle of rude blacks, yesterday picking cotton or driving mules, sitting in the legislators' seats, and executive offices of Richmond and Columbia, holding places of power among the people of Lee and Calhoun. Fancy the people of Massachusetts, were the State-house on Beacon Hill suddenly occupied by Italians, Polish and Russian laborers,—placed and kept there by a foreign conqueror!"

BY CARE AND EDUCATION

Local Organizations. When the *Contrabands* at Fortress Monroe were employed by Gen. Butler upon the Union fortifications, and were so accounted *Freedmen*, the question at once arose in the minds of thoughtful, far-seeing philanthropists and statesmen as to the care and treatment of those made free by the fortunes of war. The later decrees of emancipation only emphasized the question, for freedom did not change the character of the slave, and with all his loyalty, docility and faithfulness, there were the ever present dangers of poverty, homelessness, and ignorance. But the spirit of the Good Samaritan was not lacking, and many a man—and woman, too, left comfortable homes in the North to give help and cheer and instruction to their dark brethren in the South. Societies for the assistance of the Freedmen sprang up like magic, sending clothing, books, and teachers to the needy places where such early efforts could avail. How deep and true and wide spread was the *Missionary* impulse, may be inferred from this long list of organizations formed for this purpose,—a list by no means complete, but significant of the growing sense of brotherhood and obligation to a race long held in bondage. Besides the *Educational Commission* of Boston, the *National Freedmen's Relief Association* of New York, and the *Port Royal Relief Commission* of Philadelphia, first formed, there were the *New England Freedman's Aid Society*, *American Freedman's Aid Commission*, *Freedmen's Union Commission*, *American Union Commission*, *Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association*, *Friends' Relief Association*, *Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People*, *Del-*

ware Association, Freedmen's Aid Association of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission. Even in Great Britain, there were similar associations contributing thousands of dollars, and in London, in 1865, representatives of these met to form a *National Committee* "to consolidate and extend the action already taken for the relief of the freed Negroes of America." In this country, too, consolidation followed later in the same year. All these organizations, however, efficient as they were, sending out over 3,000 men and women for this special form of service, and expending millions of dollars, were, as intended, but temporary in their operations, and were dissolved in 1869, leaving a heritage of Christian service yet to be rendered by other *Societies* equipped for more permanent and enduring labors in the Lord.

The Freedman's Bureau. Numerous as were the voluntary organizations responding to the unspoken appeal of the millions emerging into the bewildering glare of freedom, it was evident that governmental aid and authority were necessary to produce the most effective results. In 1864, a convention of delegates from seven Western Freedman's Associations met in Indianapolis, and among other results of their gathering there, was the presentation to President Lincoln of a memorial, showing the difficulty of their work without any representative on the field of both the government and their own societies, and urging the appointment of a supervising agent who should represent both. This need had been felt by Massachusetts statesmen long before, and twelve days after the Great Proclamation

went into effect, Henry Wilson presented in the Senate a memorial from the *Emancipation League of Massachusetts*, urging the establishment of a *Bureau of Emancipation*. Bills were introduced, amendments offered, discussions violently carried on, until finally, on the last day of the 38th Congress, March 3, 1865, an Act was passed to establish a *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands*,—one of the last acts approved by Lincoln before his tragic death. One of the closing speeches of the debate, delivered by Mr. Kelley of Pennsylvania illustrates the conditions that warranted this Congressional action:

"It is not often given to a Legislature to perform an act such as we are now to pass upon. We have four million people in poverty, because our laws have denied them the right to acquire property; in ignorance, because our laws have made it a felony to instruct them; without organized habits, because war has broken the shackles which bound them, and has released them from the plantations which were destined to be their world. We are to organize them into society; we are to guide them, as the guardian guides his ward for a brief period, until they can acquire habits, and become confident and capable of self-control; we are to watch over them; and, if we do, we have from their conduct in the field and in the school, evidence that they will more than repay our labor."

Gen. O. O. Howard, a Christian soldier who had distinguished himself at Gettysburg, and had been chosen by Sherman to lead one of the columns in his famous March to the Sea, was appointed by President Johnson Commissioner of the new Bureau, and chose nine assistants with headquarters at various important Southern cities. To supply bodily needs, to guide and instruct in the matter of labor, to settle disputes and grievances, to protect against insult and outrage, and to further all the efforts of benevolent and religious

organizations;—these were some of the duties of the new Commission. That there were some mistakes, and some inefficient or corrupt agents cannot be denied; but in a work so tremendous and so untried, it must needs be that offenses come. The record of good accomplished is marvelous. Special attention was given to the subject of education, and a report made in 1870 of the five years' active service of the Bureau showed that 4,239 schools had been established, 9,307 teachers employed, 247,333 pupils instructed, and 654 school buildings furnished. The Freedmen themselves owned 592 school buildings, and supported 1,324 schools,—some industrial, some High and Normal schools. School superintendents were appointed for each state, and of the more than \$1,000,000 expended for buildings, repairs, and teachers, \$200,000 was raised by the people just out of slavery,—money raised in many cases by small tuition fees of from *ten* to *fifty* cents a month. What a prophecy of the eager multitudes who to-day are crowding the doors of all the multiplied institutions for the education and the elevation of a race reached, as yet, only on its outer edges!

Educational Boards. A name revered alike in England and America is that of *George Peabody*, princely merchant and philanthropist. Born in 1795, in South Danvers, Mass.—now called Peabody—*his* only education was obtained in the district school. At eleven he was in a grocer's shop, at fifteen, in a haberdasher's, at twenty-two, a partner in a Baltimore firm. Removing to London, he made a large fortune as merchant and broker, and his gifts to local and public enterprises on both sides of the sea, were munificent. In 1867 and 1869, he gave sums

amounting to nearly \$3,500,000 to be controlled and expended by a board of fifteen trustees for the promotion of "intellectual, moral, or industrial education in the most destitute portions of the Southern States." At first, the income of the fund was used chiefly to secure the establishment of public school systems for free education; when that was accomplished, the money was used for the training of teachers thru Normal Schools, and Teachers' Institutes. For more than thirty years the fund has been managed by men of national reputation for the nation's good, but by the terms of the gift, the whole amount is soon to be distributed where most needed, and then the Corporation of the Peabody Fund will cease to exist. — In 1882, *John F. Slater*, a cotton manufacturer of Connecticut, who had amassed a large fortune, gave the sum of \$1,000,000 for the benefit of the Freedmen. There is the beauty of fitness in the fact that the man whose father and uncle had founded the cotton manufacturing industry in the United States, should have been not unmindful of the black workers in the cotton fields of the South, whose labor made such an industry possible. In his communication to the Board of Trustees, Mr. Slater stated the purpose of the gift in these words:

"The general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued, is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education. The disabilities formerly suffered by these people, and their *singular patience and fidelity in the great crisis of the nation* establish a just claim on the sympathy and good will of humane and patriotic men. I cannot but feel the compassion that is due in view of their prevailing ignorance, which exists *by no fault of their own.*"

The first president of the Board of Trustees was Ex-President Hayes, and that office is now filled by Daniel C. Gilman, formerly of Johns Hopkins University. So remarkable has been the management of the fund that in spite of the already large expenditures, it has increased to \$1,500,000, and is still used to aid existing institutions to extend industrial education and to prepare teachers. — Not the guardian of a fund, but the promoter of wise educational policies is the *Southern Education Board of the Conference for Education in the South*, of which Robert C. Ogden of New York is the present chairman. Its object is to rouse public opinion and to secure improved legislation and increased revenues for the public schools of the South,—one of the greatest needs of the time. Surely, it is a far cry to the Black Code of the South, when it was made a criminal offense to teach the simplest lessons to a member of a race suffering and enslaved.

NOTABLE NEGROES

Toussaint— Strangely enough, there are still
the Hero of Hayti. those who deny to the Negro the
ability to make good use of his
greatly increased facilities for development; who assign him to an essentially lower level than the white man occupies; and who, like one of old, ask even now, "To what purpose is this waste?" Brief sketches of a few black men who have attained extraordinary distinction in various spheres of achievement, may serve to illustrate the possibilities of a race so long doomed to ignorance and inferiority.—Look back to that fair island in the Caribbean Sea where slavery found its first foothold in the Western World, and there by the

fitness of fate, see the first uprising of the blacks for independence, and their first great leader, governor and statesman. *François Dominique Toussaint* was a full-blooded Negro, born in 1743, of slave parents on a plantation in the north of that island which the native Caribs called *Hayti*, but which Columbus had named *Hispaniola*, when its beauty caused him to tell Queen Isabella that he had found the garden of Eden. The French early recognized its attractiveness and settled in the western part, obtaining title thereto by treaty with Spain in 1697. When the French Revolution broke out, there was a population of nearly half a million, all slaves except 38,000 Europeans, and 28,000 free people of color, mostly mulattoes. When the French Government, in 1790, decreed political freedom to these last, the island was in a ferment of excitement; the whites indignant, the mulattoes crazed with joy, and the slaves rising in savage insurrection, marching upon the Europeans with a white infant on a spear head as their standard. The decree was revoked, England and Spain entered the conflict to assist the whites; the French suffered frequent reverses until, in 1793, they proclaimed universal freedom, and Toussaint appeared upon the scene. He was now a man of fifty, who had been first a coachman, then overseer of a sugar factory, taught to read and write, knowing a little Latin and Mathematics, and counting among his favorite books *Epictetus*, *Plutarch*, and *Military Memoirs*. This insurgent leader won over the blacks to the side of the French, and the grateful governor hearing of this said, "*Cet homme fait ouverture partout*;" (This man makes an opening everywhere). Then his soldiers named him *L'Ouverture*—the opening. Peace was restored, law and order re-established, agriculture and commerce flour-

ished under his marvelous administrative ability, and he became president of an independent republic called *San Domingo* from its principal city. To the convention which drafted its constitution he said:

"Put at the head of the chapter on commerce that the ports of San Domingo are open to the trade of the world. Make it the first line of my constitution that I know no difference between religious beliefs."

But Napoleon became jealous of his black rival, sent an army to overthrow the republic, and to re-enslave the whole black population. Toussaint was treacherously made captive, and carried over the seas to languish ten months in a horrible French prison; then, dying too slowly for his royal jailer, he was left four days without food or drink, and April 27, 1803, was *found dead*—he of whom a Spanish general said, "He was the purest soul God ever put into a body;" and of whom history says, "He never broke his word." Wendell Phillips has paid *The Hero of Hayti* this eloquent and thrilling tribute:

"Now, blue-eyed Saxon, proud of your race, go back with me to the commencement of the century, and select what statesman you please. Let him be either American or European; let him have a brain the result of six generations of culture; let him have the ripest training of university routine; let him add to it the better education of practical life; crown his temples with the silver of seventy years,—and show me the man of Saxon lineage for whom his most sanguine admirers will wreath a laurel as rich as embittered foes have placed on the brow of this Negro; rare military skill, profound knowledge of human nature, content to blot out all party distinctions, and trust a state to the blood of its sons,—anticipating Sir Robert Peel by fifty years, and taking his station by the side of Roger Williams before any Englishman or American had won the right,—and yet this is the record



DOUGLASS, THE ORATOR

which the history of rival states makes up for this inspired black of St. Domingo.

Frederick Douglass— Stranger than fiction, more fascinating than a modern novel

the Orator. is the life story of another "inspired black," who, when San Domingo, generations later, applied to the United States for annexation, was one of the Commission sent there to investigate conditions, and later still, to represent the government as Minister to the Republic of Hayti. Born about 1817 on Tuckahoe plantation in Eastern Maryland, Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey, slave son of a slave mother, spent the first twenty-three years of his life in bondage and obscurity;—a bondage in which he experienced all the horrors of a hateful system, separation from family and friends, grief, loneliness, cold and hunger, cruel floggings, and imprisonment for escapes attempted but not realized. Even as a child he asked himself, "Why am I a slave?" and was told that *God up in the sky* had made all things, and had made black people to be slaves and white people to be masters!!! But his childish logic questioned this, especially when he saw that not all white people were masters, nor all blacks slaves. One kind mistress ventured to teach him to read, until harshly forbidden by an angry husband who said,

"If he learns to read the Bible, it will forever unfit him to be a slave."

But the seed was sown, and the clever ingenuity of an ambitious youth helped him to use his white playmates as unconscious teachers; and in a ship yard the timbers marked with capital letters furnished his first copy for writing lessons; then fences and pavements, and his little *Master Tommy's* copy books with ample

spaces between the lines, served his purpose as he learned the art of writing. Very early he heard the word *abolition* and when the dictionary failed to explain, *The Baltimore American* gave him information that on a certain day a great number of petitions had been presented to Congress, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the slave trade between the States of the Union. Then the star of HOPE rose in his sky, and at the beginning of the year 1836, he made a solemn vow that that year should not close without an earnest effort to attain his liberty. That attempt failed, but another was more successful, and on September 4, 1838, the fugitive, having reached New York, began life as a *free man*. But not there; a friendly officer of the Underground Railway helped him on his way to New Bedford where he hoped to ply his calker's trade. Between Baltimore and New Bedford the name Bailey had been dropped for that of Johnson, but in the latter city, his colored friend and host, having just read with delight *The Lady of the Lake*, chose for him the more distinctive and distinguished name of *Douglass*, a name never tarnished but rather illumined by its new representative. Even in New Bedford, race prejudice was too strong to permit the practice of his trade, but work of various kinds furnished a precarious living for the young Douglass; and the reading of *The Liberator* furnished his mind with new thoughts, and his soul with new hopes for his race. — In 1841, he attended an Anti-Slavery meeting in Nantucket, and was persuaded by one who had heard his fervid eloquence as an exhorter in the Colored Methodist Church of New Bedford, to tell his story. That was the hour of his emergence from obscurity, the beginning of a public career of long and unrivalled interest.

As agent of the Anti-Slavery Society he attended hundreds of conventions, and spoke in all the cities of the East. As writer and orator he used his multiplying talents for the help and succor of his people, on both sides of the water, receiving in Great Britain the courteous treatment of equality and brotherhood so often wanting in his native land. When the War was over, and political rights were his, places of influence and power were opened to him, because of rare ability and honest character. As Commissioner to San Domingo, member of the council for the government of the District of Columbia, Elector at large of the State of New York, orator on Decoration Day at Arlington near the monument to the unknown loyal dead, at the unveiling of the Lincoln monument in Washington, and in Madison Square, New York, by Lincoln's statue, pall-bearer at the funeral of Vice-President Wilson, Marshal of District of Columbia appointed by President Hayes, Recorder of Deeds under President Garfield, and Minister to Hayti under Harrison,—he spent a long and useful life in the service of his people and this nation, and died full of years and honors at the National Capital, February 20, 1895.

"A hush is over all the teeming lists,
And there is pause, a breath-space in the strife;
A spirit brave has passed beyond the mists
And vapors that obscure the sun of life.
And Ethiopia, with bosom torn,
Laments the passing of her noblest born.

* * * * *

Oh, Douglass, thou has passed beyond the shore,
But still thy voice is ringing o'er the gale!
Thou'st taught thy race how high her hopes may soar,
And bade her seek the heights, nor faint, nor fall.
She will not fail, she heeds thy stirring cry,
She knows thy guardian spirit will be nigh,
And rising from beneath the chast'ning rod,
She stretches out her bleeding hands to God!"

Dunbar— Beautiful would this tribute be from any source, but it gains an added luster and a deeper meaning, coming from the heart and pen of one of Douglass's own race. The poetic temperament cannot be denied the Negro, child of the tropics, with his love of song and dance, his quick emotions, his vivid imagination, and his sensitiveness to the humor and the pathos of life. Whose is the blame that so long a time had passed before it became possible for one to give adequate expression to the sentiments within; for the crude verses of *Phyllis Wheatley* to be followed by the graceful, polished lyrics of *Paul Laurence Dunbar*? Even the former need not be passed over in silence, for it is a fact of no slight interest that in 1773, there was published in England a book of *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* by *Phyllis Wheatley, Negro Servant to Mr. John Wheatley of Boston in New England*. Phyllis was born in Africa, brought to this country in 1761, purchased and educated by Mrs. Wheatley, and nearly a century after *her* poems were reprinted in Boston, the first real poet of his race was born in Dayton, Ohio, June 27, 1872. Dunbar's parents had been slaves, the father escaping from bondage in Kentucky to freedom in Canada,—the mother set free by the Civil War. The home was one of poverty, but the father taught himself to read, and found in history his chief delight. The mother loved poetry and shared the boy's youthful tastes and aspirations, appreciating his earliest literary ventures in prose sketches and tales of fiction. A High School course at Dayton was followed by a wonderfully successful career in literature and journalism, and in 1897 he was appointed to the staff of the Librarian of Congress. These novels, *The Uncalled*, *The Spirit of the*

Gods, and *The Fanatics*, illustrate his work in prose, but of far greater power and beauty are the poems. Among the published volumes are *Oak and Ivy*, *Majors and Minors*, *Lyrics of Lowly Life*, *Lyrics of the Hearth Side*, *Folks from Dixie*, and *Cabin and Field*,—names suggestive of the life he describes and the pictures he paints. Sometimes he imitated the quaint accent of the Negro dialect, as no one else could do, as in "*When de corn pone's hot*," "*When Malindy Sings*" and the little poem he calls a *Hymn*:

"O li'l' lamb out in de col',
De Mastah call you to de fol',
O li'l' lamb!
He hyeah you bleatin' on de hill;
Come hyeah an' keep yo' mou'nin' still,
O li'l' lamb!

"De Mastah sen' de Shepherd fo'f,
He wandah souf, he wandah no'f,
O li'l' lamb!
He wandah eas', he wandah wes',
De win' a-wrenchin' at his breas',
O li'l' lamb!

"Oh, tell de Shepherd whaih you hide;
He want you walkin' by his side,
O li'l' lamb!
He know you weak, he know you so',
But come, don' stay away no mo',
O li'l' lamb!

"An' af' ah while de lamb he hyeah
De Shepherd's voice a-callin' cleah,—
Sweet li'l' lamb!
He ansawah f'om de brambles thick,
'O Shepherd, I's a-comin' quick'—
O li'l' lamb!"

Sometimes he sang in purest, truest English lines that knew no race nor color, save when the theme was one that beat in sympathetic heart throbs with his people. But the songs have ceased; February 9, 1906, the singer, thru whom the inarticulate music of a

humble folk found sweet expression, "passed beyond the mists and vapors that obscure the sun of life."

SYMPATHY.

"I know what the caged bird feels, alas!
 When the sun is bright on the upland slopes;
 When the wind stirs soft through the springing grass,
 And the river flows like a stream of glass;
 When the first bird sings and the first bud opes,
 And the faint perfume from the chalice steals—
 I know what the caged bird feels!

"I know why the caged bird beats his wing
 Till its blood is red on the cruel bars;
 For he must fly back to his perch and cling
 When he fain would be on the bough a-swing;
 And a pain still throbs in the old, old scars,
 And they pulse again with a keener sting—
 I know why he beats his wing!

"I know why the caged bird sings, ah me,
 When his wing is bruised and his bosom sore,—
 When he beats his bars and he would be free;
 It is not a carol of joy or glee,
 But a prayer that he sends from his heart's deep core,
 But a plea that upward to Heaven he flings—
 I know why the caged bird sings!"

Tanner— No American artist in Paris is more talked
the Artist. about or more respected than *Henry*
Ossawa Tanner, an artist unique in that
 he is of Negro blood and birth. His father was Ben-
 jamin Tucker Tanner, a bishop of the African M. E.
 Church, having oversight of the work in Canada,
 Bermuda, and the West Indies,—a man of wide
 scholarship and unusual literary ability, contributor to
 many important periodicals and editor of the *African*
Methodist Quarterly which he made one of the lead-
 ing journals of the country. The son was born in
 Pittsburg, Pa., June 21, 1859, received his earliest art
 education at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts,

then studied under the best of masters in Paris,—Jean Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant. For some time he lived in Jerusalem and Bethlehem to see things and to paint them as he saw, in the Land of the Bible from which he has taken his choicest subjects. In his student days, he often carried off the honors of his class; many medals and prizes have been awarded him; and his pictures have been hung in many a Salon Exhibition.—His first great picture, *Daniel in the Lion's Den*, was hung there in 1896; *The Raising of Lazarus* in 1897 was bought by the French Government for the Luxembourg Gallery, and in due time will probably be transferred to a higher and more honorable position in the Louvre. A study of *Christ and Nicodemus* bought in 1900 for the Temple Collection in the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts, has been called his masterpiece, and one critic says of it:

"So subtle is the painter's power as not only to make one feel that which the characters of the picture, Christ and Nicodemus, are exchanging—one may even dare to think their thoughts after them."

Another picture, larger and even more remarkable for its original treatment and suggestive beauty is *The Annunciation*, hanging now in Memorial Hall in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Instead of an angel appearing to the astonished Mary, it is a wonderful radiance streaming in from an unknown source, waking the startled girl to a sense of the coming of the Divine in human form,—The Incarnation. In the Carnegie Gallery in Pittsburg is *The Flight of Judas*, a subject seldom represented, but in which Tanner has succeeded in giving a sense of the horror of living or dying, after having betrayed the Holy One. Within the year just passed, Tanner has exhibited at the

Chicago Art Institute a picture, *Two Disciples at the Tomb*, which won the prize for the best American painting. American as he is, this famous Negro artist resides in Paris, partly for the better practise of his art, and partly for the better social conditions existing there. Across the water, there is no sharply drawn color line, no social ostracism due to race, but there is given *Honor to whom honor is due*.

Coleridge-Taylor— As in painting, so in music, the Negro race seems just coming to its own; and tho *Samuel Coleridge-Taylor* is not an American, his genius and his successful musical career present an illustration of the possibilities of the colored people, the more remarkable, as it is, perhaps, less widely known. Born in England, August 15, 1875, son of a West African Negro father and an English mother, the young mulatto studied at the Royal College of Music, and with famous English professors. Very early he was commissioned to write for three choir festivals, and then for the greater English festivals at Leeds and Birmingham. His compositions number already more than *forty-eight*, including several poems set to music, and *The Atonement*, a sacred cantata. Most important of his works, however, is the *Hiawatha Cantata*, three subjects from Longfellow's beautiful poem set to music,—*Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*, *The Death of Minnehaha*, and *Hiawatha's Departure*. When this was produced at the great Albert Hall in London in March, 1900, it was received with enthusiasm, and the composer warmly applauded. When it was presented to a music-loving audience in the United States, two years later, this was the appreciative comment of an impartial critic.

"Some of the melodies are fresh and inspiring, and at its best, it rises to really inspiring heights, fully justifying Mr. Coleridge-Taylor's claim to a place among the most original and gifted of the younger English composers."

Chesnutt— Such distinction as Dunbar and Tanner
the Novelist. have won for themselves in the fields
of poetry and painting, that has Ches-
nutt won in the field of fiction. *Charles Waddell*
Chesnutt was born in Cleveland, Ohio, June 20, 1858,
of free parents whose thrift and industry saved him
from such youthful struggles with poverty as had
fallen to the lot of Dunbar. He was educated in
North Carolina, and there became principal of the
State Normal School at Fayetteville. After a brief
journalistic career in New York, he returned to his
native city and was there admitted to the bar in 1887.
But the practice of his profession could not restrain
the literary impulse, and the desire to present with
sympathetic interest the condition and the problem of
his people. Having shared their fortunes partially,
and knowing their life by instinct and observation, he
has reproduced in his novels and short stories the hu-
mor and the tragedy of both the old time plantation
Negro, and the Negro of to-day. His best known
works are *The Life of Frederick Douglass*, *The House*
behind the Cedars, *The Conjure Woman*, *The Wife*
of his Youth, and *The Marrow of Tradition*. To have
the Negro problem presented by a Negro novelist, and
that in a manner so delicate and artistic as to place his
novels on a level with the standard works of recent
years, and his short stories among the very best, is one
of the surest proofs of the intellectual and literary
possibilities of the race from which he sprang.

WASHINGTON—LEADER OF MEN

His Training. When the beautiful monument which stands on Boston Common facing the State House was dedicated in 1897 to the memory of Robert Gould Shaw, the gallant colonel of a gallant regiment,—the 54th Massachusetts, first colored regiment from the North—Music Hall was packed from floor to gallery with one of the most distinguished audiences that ever graced a distinguished occasion. Gov. Wolcott presided and in introducing the chief speaker said:

“*Booker T. Washington* received his Harvard A. M. last June; the first of his race to receive an honorary degree from the oldest university of the land, and this for wise *leadership of his people*.”

As Frederick Douglass was the foremost colored man of his generation, so is Booker Washington of the present; but more than scholar and orator, educator and administrator, is he a wise leader of men, of men both black and white, both Northerners and Southerners. To bring such industrial order out of chaos, such harmony out of political strife and social confusion, such commercial success out of poverty, sloth, and ignorance, and best of all such a change in the white man's attitude toward the Negro,—this is the marvelous achievement of Booker Washington, President of the *Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, one of the greatest of living Americans. His life story, too, reads like a romance, as he tells it in his fascinating autobiography,—*Up from Slavery*. Born in Franklin County, Virginia, about 1858 or '59, of an unknown father, and a slave mother whose ancestors had suffered all the horrors of a slave ship in passing from Africa to America, his earliest days were

spent in a typical log cabin. His first knowledge that he was a slave came to him as he heard his mother praying earnestly that Lincoln and the Union armies might be victorious, and that she and her children might be free. Her prayer was answered, and when freedom was declared, she joined her husband in Malden, West Va., where even the little boys were set to work in the salt furnace. An intense desire to learn to read found its first gratification in an old blue-backed Webster's Spelling Book; then, in the first school for Negro children ever opened in that part of the country. There, the boy who had been always called "Booker" observed that the other boys responded to the roll-call with at least two names; but before his turn came, he had an inspiration, and calmly responded "Booker Washington." Later he learned that his mother had given him the name Booker Taliaferro, and the forgotten part was restored. Now the full name *Booker Taliaferro Washington* has attained an illustrious significance little dreamed of in those desolate days. In spite of the struggle with pinching poverty, the industrious, ambitious youth finally succeeded in entering the *Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute*, where his intellectual and industrial training was supplemented by the strong, inspiring influence of General Armstrong, its founder and principal. Janitor and student, he learned the dignity of labor, as well as the value of mental discipline, and to that lesson is largely due his wonderful success.

His Work. After two years of teaching in Malden, and a year of further study in Washington, he was summoned to Hampton to deliver a post-graduate commencement address; then came a call to serve as instructor, and to have charge of seventy-five

young Indians just admitted to the institution. In 1881, Gen. Armstrong, in response to an appeal from some gentlemen in Alabama, recommended Mr. Washington as the most suitable person to take charge of the proposed Normal School for the colored people in the little town of Tuskegee. That was the beginning of a career of unparalleled activity and achievement. The school opened with thirty pupils in a little shanty so dilapidated that when it rained, one of the older students would leave his lessons to hold an umbrella over the head of the teacher hearing recitations. That was in '81, and tho at the start, it seemed like making bricks without straw, when he had no money and the school had no money, yet in 1907 the Institute owns and occupies 2000 acres of land, 83 buildings,—dormitories, class-rooms, shops, and barns;—and 1800 eager, earnest students are learning both how to live, and how to earn a living. In addition to Mr. Washington's public appeals in behalf of the school so dear to his heart, he has delivered many important addresses, one of which gave him a national reputation. It was a five minute speech at the opening of the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition, September 18, 1895, remarkable as the first time in the history of the Negro, when one of that race had spoken from the same platform with white Southern men and women on any great national occasion. The surprising enthusiasm with which it was received was an indication that he had in great measure achieved his earnest purpose to "say something that would cement the friendship of the races and bring about hearty co-operation between them." After that, honors and opportunities crowded thick and fast upon him;—appointment as one of the Judges of Award in the Department of Education at the exposition; invi-

orator roused the emotions of all present to such a pitch of fervor that it was Gov. Wolcott himself who first sprang to his feet and shouted, "*Three cheers to Booker T. Washington,*" as he said:

"To you, to the scarred and scattered remnants of the Fifty-Fourth, who, with empty sleeve and wanting leg, have honored this occasion with your presence, to you, your commander is not dead. Tho Boston erected no monument and history recorded no story, in you and in the loyal race you represent, Robert Gould Shaw would have a monument which time could not wear away."

When he delivered his great speech to 16,000 persons in the Chicago Auditorium after the Spanish-American War, *The Times Herald* reported his address as follows:—

He pictured the Negro choosing slavery rather than extinction; recalled Crispus Attucks shedding his blood at the beginning of the American Revolution that *white* Americans might be free while *black* Americans remained in slavery; rehearsed the conduct of the Negroes with Jackson at New Orleans; drew a vivid and pathetic picture of the Southern slaves protecting and supporting the families of their masters while the latter were fighting to perpetuate black slavery; recounted the bravery of colored troops at Port Hudson and Forts Wagner and Pillow, and praised the heroism of the black regiments that stormed El Caney and Santiago to give freedom to the enslaved people of Cuba, forgetting for the time being, the unjust discrimination that law and custom make against them in their own country.

In all these things, the speaker declared his race had chosen the better part. And then he made his eloquent appeal to the consciences of white Americans: "*When you have gotten the full story of the heroic conduct of the Negro in the Spanish-American War, have heard it from the lips of the Northern soldier and Southern soldier, from ex-abolitionist and ex-master: then decide within yourselves whether a race that is thus willing to die for its country should not be given the highest opportunity to live for its country.*"

SOME WORTHY ACHIEVEMENTS

In Art and Industry. In December, 1863, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune* gave to the world the story of the Negro who took a striking foreman's place in the foundry where the bronze castings were being completed for the Statue of Liberty on the Capitol.

"The black master builder lifted the ponderous uncouth masses, and bolted them together, joint by joint, piece by piece, till they blended into the majestic Freedom who today lifts her head in the blue clouds above Washington, invoking a benediction upon the imperilled Republic! Was there a prophecy in that moment when the slave became the artist, and with rare poetic justice reconstructed the beautiful symbol of freedom for America?"

At the Atlanta Exposition of 1895, a large and attractive building devoted wholly to showing the progress of the free Negro, and equal in beauty and fitness to any on the grounds, was designed and erected wholly by Negro mechanics. The plans for the Negro Exposition building at the Jamestown Exposition of 1907 are the work of *W. Sidney Pittman* of Washington, D. C., a graduate of the Birmingham High School and Tuskegee Institute, said to be the first of his race to have plans accepted by the U. S. government. — At the St. Louis Exposition, one of the most prominent figures in the musical world was *Lieut. Walter H. Loving*, the Negro band-master. A native of St. Paul, Minn., he studied in Boston, organized two army bands before going to the Philippines where he mastered three languages in order to make himself understood by the natives, and gathered together his famous Filipino Band of 80 pieces. Eight hours a day, this band rehearsed on the ship that

brought them to America; and when the Exposition opened, they could play a thousand selections. In the musical contest entered by the very best bands in the world, the second prize was given to *Loving*, over such famous organizations as Sousa's Band and the Royal Band of England, and many critics thought the Filipinos deserved the first prize, awarded to the French musicians. — One of the most successful inventors in the country is *Granville T. Woods*, a Negro electrician with thirty-five mechanical devices to his credit, among them a steam boiler furnace, four kinds of telegraph apparatus, four electric railway improvements, two electric brakes, a telephone transmitter in use by the Bell Telephone Co., and an electrical controller system used on the Manhattan Elevated Railway. — The number of successful farmers, contractors, real estate dealers, merchants, and bankers, is constantly increasing, and the recent organization of *The National Negro Business League* marks a tremendous industrial and commercial advance from the days when tobacco raising and cotton picking were almost the only possible occupations for those who worked under the overseer's lash in the bonds of slavery.

In Law and Learning. Of the nearly or quite 800 Negro lawyers in the country, practising with varying degrees of success, the most successful is probably *Edward H. Morris* of Chicago. A native of Kentucky, he was admitted to the bar at the early age of twenty-one, and later removed to the great western city where he has built up a practice worth at least \$20,000 a year, besides gaining for himself a more than local reputation in winning an important suit between Cook County and the City of

Chicago, and another involving the question of taxing the net receipts of large insurance companies.—The rise of the Negro physician, too, within the last few years, has been one of the most surprising signs of progress in a race so long restrained from aspiring to the learned professions. Not long ago, a Negro led his class in the Harvard Medical School; another, in Philadelphia, passed the best state medical examination for years; but the most conspicuous example of Negro skill and success is *Daniel H. Williams* of Chicago, physician and surgeon. In 1893, a fight occurred in which one of the combatants received a stab wound in the heart. Dr. Williams was first to come to the relief of the man apparently doomed to death, and his success in sewing up the man's heart was the first recorded instance in the history of medicine. Other cases under his care have attracted widespread medical interest; and positions of honor and responsibility have been his, as head of the Freedman's hospital in Washington, attending surgeon to the Cook County and Provident hospitals in Chicago, and member of the Illinois State Board of Health. — As teacher and instructor, the educated Negro has found much work and usefulness, but few have attained to the distinction of *Kelly Miller*, Professor of Mathematics in Howard University, Washington, D. C. Born a freeman two years after the Great Proclamation, he attended the county schools of South Carolina, and early showed an unusual keenness of mind for mathematical pursuits; later, he studied at the Naval Observatory, and took a post-graduate course at Johns Hopkins, before entering upon his duties as professor. He is not only an inspiring teacher, a writer for such periodicals as *The Forum* and *The Outlook*, a speaker of power and logic, but a student of the race prob-

lems of this country and of the world, and a leader of his people, whose ideal and advice for them is, *Duty* and not *Destiny*. — Another scholar of high position and lofty purpose is *W. E. Burghardt DuBois*. Born in Great Barrington, Mass., he has had not only the educational advantages of its High School, but of Fisk University, of Harvard College, and of post-graduate studies in Berlin. He now occupies the Chair of Sociology in Atlanta University. Broadly cultured and scientifically exact in his researches, he has given himself as devotedly to raising the standard of higher education and equal privilege for the Negroes, as the principal of Tuskegee, to their industrial and commercial elevation. One of the most notable books of recent years is *The Souls of Black Folk*, in which the interest of the facts and the surpassing beauty of its literary style are only equalled by the tragic pathos of his sympathy, his hopes, and his longings for his people.

In Politics and Religion. When the Fifteenth Amendment opened the political arena to colored aspirants, they were not slow to enter, and in view of their long years of ignorance, and inexperience, the wonder is—not that there were sometimes incompetence and pretension, but that so many filled acceptably positions of honor and influence. Perhaps the best known colored senator was *Blanche K. Bruce*—born a slave in 1841, freed by the war, and educated at Oberlin College, who served the State of Mississippi from 1875 to 1881, when he was appointed Register of the U. S. Treasury by President James A. Garfield. — In the same year was appointed Minister to Liberia a colored man with an extraordinary career, *Henry Highland Garnett*, a slave, a classical

student, ridiculed for his knowledge of Latin and Greek and robbed in a New Hampshire seminary, a theological student in Troy, N. Y., a missionary to Jamaica in the West Indies, and pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City. There his house narrowly escaped the riots of 1863, simply because his daughter wrenched the door-plate from his door. He is said to have been the first colored man who ever spoke in public at the Capitol in Washington, and one of the most eloquent. Honored in two continents, he died at Monrovia in 1882, Minister of the United States to a civilized nation in the land from which his ancestors had been stolen. — One of the ablest diplomats of the Negro race was *Ebenezer D. Bassett* of Connecticut birth and education, a classical scholar, and principal of an Institute for colored youth at Philadelphia, who served his country for nearly nine years as Minister and Consul-General at Hayti; and after his return was promoted by the Haytian government to serve there as Consul at New York. — When Prof. Bassett left the school in Philadelphia, his place was filled by *Richard T. Greener*, the first Negro graduate of Harvard University, who won not only its diploma, but high honors and well-deserved prizes; since then, besides filling many posts of honor as teacher, lawyer, writer, and editor, he has represented the United States as Consul at Vladivostok with credit to himself and to his race. — One of the most recent appointments of special interest is that made in 1906 by President Roosevelt of *W. T. Vernon* as Register of the Treasury. The son of slave parents in Missouri, he gained an education for himself, taught in his native state for ten years, and then took charge of Western University, Quindaro, Kansas. Beginning with six Negro pupils, he has done

in Quindaro in lesser degree what Booker Washington has done at Tuskegee, and when he left to assume his new position there were fourteen teachers and 200 pupils. The degrees of M. A. and LL. D. have been conferred upon him, and hereafter his signature must appear on all the treasury notes and bonds of this rich and prosperous country. — The religious instincts of the Negroes were very early developed, but when race prejudice shut them out in great measure from existing churches, the African M. E. Church was founded in Philadelphia in 1816. It grew rapidly and was full of zeal and consecration, having even in 1846 three educational societies and three missionary societies. One of its best known bishops in the early days was *Daniel Payne*, called the "Little Father of a million African Methodists"; and *Bishop Arnett's* name and face have become friendly and familiar to the Christian Endeavor hosts of later years. — Among the colored Baptist preachers of America the names of *Duke William Anderson*, and *Leonard A. Grimes* stand out with well deserved distinction. Their history is worth the reading. — In the present generation, the list of zealous, consecrated, cultivated pastors and preachers would far exceed the limits of a paragraph; but one representative clergyman may be mentioned as typical of the moral earnestness, the scholarly attainments, and the spiritual purpose of a great class of Negro ministers. *Francis J. Grimke* now of Washington, "as able and promising a student as Princeton ever had," is a successful pastor, author, contributor to *New York Independent* and *Evangelist*, school committeeman of the District of Columbia, trustee of Howard University, preacher at Hampton and Tuskegee, and a man who says of his loyal efforts in behalf of his poor struggling race:

"In spite of all the tremendous odds against us, I am not disposed, however, to become despondent. I have faith in God; faith in the race, and faith in the ultimate triumph of right."

In Woman's Sphere. Could the full story of the women of African descent be written, from Phyllis Wheatley to the latest graduate of Hartshorn or of Spelman, doubtless many a latent spark of genius might be discovered. Sometimes the spark has kindled into flame, and recognition and renown have followed. Such was the rare good fortune of *Edmonia Lewis*, the Negro sculptress, herself the prophecy of her sisters' possibilities. Born about 1840 in New York State, of lowly parents, she was early left an orphan, poor but ambitious. During a visit to Boston, she saw a statue of Benjamin Franklin which woke within her a longing and a hope. "*I, too, can make a stone man,*" she said. Turning instinctively to the great friend of her race, William Lloyd Garrison, he gave her letters to Mr. Brackett, a Boston sculptor, who received her kindly, gave her some clay and a model of the human foot, and bade her make one like it. Her first attempt was broken up, and she was told to try again. Then she triumphed, won an assured position as an artist, and the admiration of both America and Europe. Her first work was a bust of *Col. Shaw* exhibited in Boston in 1865; her second, *The Freedwoman*; and then in 1867, she opened a studio in Rome where her work attracted such appreciative attention that Harriet Hosmer, Charlotte Cushman, and other famous women became her friends and helpers. Among her finest works are *Hagar in the Wilderness*, *Madonna and Angels*, busts of *Longfellow* the poet, and *John Brown* the martyr, medallion portrait of *Wendell Phillips*, *The Death of Cleopatra*, *The Marriage of Hiawatha*, and a portrait bust of

Abraham Lincoln, Emancipator of her people. — Two typical women of the present, cultivated and capable, attractive and influential, are *Mrs. Booker T. Washington*, and *Mary Church Terrell*; the former a graduate of Fisk University, the latter of Oberlin, a college which never closed its doors to colored students from its opening day in 1833, but sent out many a scholarly Negro before any other leading college had consented to instruct him. Mrs. Washington is her husband's efficient helper in all matters pertaining to the work of Tuskegee, besides carrying on Mothers' Meetings in the town, plantation work for men, women and children in the vicinity, managing a local Woman's Club, and filling such positions as President of Southern Colored Women's Clubs, and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. — Mrs. Terrell is a Trustee of Hartshorn Memorial College, the first woman appointed on the Education Board of the District of Columbia, a speaker of unusual grace and power who surprised the International Association for the Advancement of Women recently meeting in Berlin, by addressing the assembly in three languages. Both these women have close upon their hearts the welfare of their people, and especially of the women. The wonderful record of the last fifty years is one for which they may be deeply glad and grateful. The unnumbered women serving their generation as devoted wives and mothers, as skilful nurses and physicans, as successful teachers and consecrated missionaries—these are the hope and prophecy of coming years. In woman's sphere essentially has there been great need and great endeavor; and the aim of The National Association of Colored Women is, "*More homes, better homes, purer homes.*"

A FEW FIGURES

The Facts. Little of inspiration as there is in mere facts and figures, yet they point the way to clearer knowledge and to deeper realization of the underlying forces, and the interwoven hopes and fears. Less than forty years after the bondman had become a free man, the United States census could record such marvelous facts as these. In a race that then was ignorant, perforce, as its enslaved members had not been allowed the privileges of school attendance, now 55 per cent can read and write. Where poverty was as pitiful as ignorance, now members of the race own property worth over \$600,000,000, largely in farms covering an area equal to that of New England. Where industry found its outlet in the lowest forms of manual labor, now the record of 1900 enumerates among the Negroes, 82 bankers and brokers, 52 architects and designers, 236 artists, 212 dentists, 185 electricians, 120 civil engineers and surveyors, 210 journalists, 719 government officials, 728 lawyers, 1,734 physicians and surgeons, 395 stenographers, 475 bookkeepers, 15,530 clergymen, 21,268 teachers, 156,370 farm owners, 1,311 stock raisers, 1,186 manufacturers and superintendents, and 149 wholesale merchants. This for the adults; for the youth, note the following: over 1,095,774 were enrolled in the schools of the country, 586,767 of them young women; 12,200 attended the hundred public high schools for colored young people, and nearly 40,000 entered the secondary and higher schools established for them. Now, in this year of grace, 1907, a full-blooded Negro, Alton Leroy Locke, a Harvard student, has won, over fifty applicants, the Rhodes Scholarship allotted this year to the state of Pennsylvania; a young man who purposes to

return to America after his three years at Oxford to "devote my entire time to the uplifting of my race." What progress, what advancement, what hope for the future!

The *But what are these among so many?*
Application. Much as education has accomplished thru consecrated teachers from the North, thru princely gifts of generous men, thru public-spirited school boards and progressive leaders, the present need is great. In spite of these thousands won from illiteracy to intelligence, the menace of ignorance will still remain until education keeps pace with the needs. So rapidly has the race increased in numbers, that there are more illiterate blacks in the South to-day than in 1865. Bright stars have shone out here and there in the darkness; individuals have towered above the rank and file; but not until the whole heaven of the race is bright, and the rank and file raised to their possible height, will the need of effort cease, or the work of elevation and development approach completion. What Browning said of *Man* as man may well apply to the black men as a race—Browning, the poet in whose veins flowed drops of Negro blood, and whose ancestral acres were voluntarily lost because his father hated slavery.

"Progress is

The law of life, man is not man as yet,
Nor shall I deem his object served, his end
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth
While only here and there a star dispels
The darkness, here and there a towering mind
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows."



A SUBJECT FOR MISSION WORK

LESSON IV

MISSIONS MULTIPLIED

THE GOSPEL APPLIED

A Contrast. "If no other consideration had convinced me of the value of the Christian life, the Christlike work which the Church of all denominations in America has done during the last thirty-five years for the elevation of the black man, would have made me a Christian. In a large degree, it has been the pennies, the nickels, and the dimes which have come from the Sunday Schools, the C. E. societies, and the Missionary societies, as well as from the Church proper, that have helped to elevate the Negro at so rapid a rate."

Such is the tribute of Booker T. Washington in these latter days to the purity of motive, the earnestness of purpose, and the measure of success of the greatest of all organizations in its efforts to fulfil the terms of the Great Commission, and to win assent to the great truth that *God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.* Contrast with this an extract from the autobiography of Frederick Douglass, to note the changes wrought by the passing years.

"Two hundred years ago, the pious Doctor Godwin dared affirm that it *was not a sin to baptize a Negro*, and won for him the rite of baptism. It was a small concession to his manhood; but it was strongly resisted by the slave holders of Jamaica and Virginia. In this they were logical

in their argument, but they were not logical in their object. They saw plainly that to concede the Negro's right to baptism was to receive him into the Christian Church, and make him a brother in Christ; and hence they opposed the first step sternly and bitterly. So long as they could keep him beyond the circle of human brotherhood, they could scourge him to toll, as a beast of burden, with a good Christian conscience, and without reproach. 'What!' said they, 'baptize a Negro? preposterous!' Nevertheless, the Negro was baptized and admitted to church fellowship; and tho, for a long time, his soul belonged to God, his body to his master, and he, poor fellow, had nothing left for himself, he is at last not only baptized, but emancipated and enfranchised."

A strange perversity of the human intellect and conscience was to be found both North and South in the estimate of Negro needs and privileges, but the Christian principle developed more rapidly in the North; and, as long before the war the question of slavery and Negro rights had caused several of the great denominations to be rent asunder, the divisions still exist, but a new day is dawning and the bond of unity is being strengthened in a common effort *to make the people which sat in darkness see great light*. If "Anti-Slavery was the child of Christian faith," Missionary effort was its younger brother. Scarcely had Gen. Butler coined his famous phrase, *Contraband of War*, and set free the slaves who flocked to Fortress Monroe, when the question arose as to the supply of their spiritual as well as temporal needs. Individual workers were very early in the field, and of Dr. Solomon Peck, a distinguished *Baptist* clergyman of Massachusetts, who preached and taught in Beaufort, S. C., it is said:

"Of narrow means, and yet in the main defraying his own expenses, this man of apostolic faith and life, to whose labors both hemispheres bear wit-

ness, left his home to guide and comfort this poor and shepherdless flock; and to him belongs and ever will belong, the distinguished honor of being the first minister of Christ to enter the field which our arms had opened."

American Missionary Association. On the 21st of August, 1861, the chaplain of a regiment stationed at Newport News, sent a letter to the Y. M. C. A. of New York City, urging the appointment of a Missionary to labor "among the slaves that had been liberated in Virginia." The letter was given over to the *American Missionary Association*, whose executive committee recognized at once the importance of the appeal, and sent Rev. L. C. Lockwood to this new field of labor, thus beginning a work among the Freedmen that has grown with the years, and is still advancing with marvelous success. This Association had its real beginning in a romantic chapter of our early history—that strange happening in New London harbor in September, 1839. A queer-looking vessel had rounded the point, and was terrifying the inhabitants by its curious maneuvers. When a revenue cutter went out to capture what seemed a pirate ship, it was found to be a runaway Spanish slave-ship, the *Amistad*, having on board five white men and forty-two Negroes. Not a word of English could white or black man speak; but later investigations led to the startling revelation that these blacks, stolen from the west coast of Africa, taken to Cuba, sold and shipped for transportation, had risen under a gigantic native leader of their tribe, killed the captain, set adrift the crew, then drifted for months, and at last appeared in Long Island Sound. Committed to the New Haven jail, the Negroes appealed to the United States for protection; the Spanish claimed both ship and cargo;

and the legal complications caused the trial to be prolonged for nearly two years. Meanwhile the *Amistad Committee* was formed to defend the interests of the captives, and engaged such eminent counsel as John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, and Roger Baldwin of Connecticut. The decision was finally reached that they be sent back to Africa, and in 1842, they were returned by the Committee, accompanied by three Christian Missionaries who founded the Mendi Mission, one of the first American Missions in the dark continent. — The Amistad Committee then became a Missionary Committee, and four years later, uniting with four other missionary societies, it grew into the *A. M. A.*, which was formally organized in Albany—"to conduct Christian missionary and educational operations, and to diffuse a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." Missionaries were soon sent South, but the terror caused by John Brown's raid resulted in their expulsion from all the Slave States. Undenominational at first, this association was chosen in 1865 by the National Council of Congregational Churches as the best agency to carry on its work among the Freedmen. The foreign missionary enterprises were given up as home work developed, and to-day the word is still *Onward*. — From the first day-school among the Freedmen established by Mr. Lockwood, September 17, 1861, to the long list of institutions in active operation to-day, many of them made possible by the million and a half dollars given the *A. M. A.* by *Daniel Hand*—a Southern merchant of Connecticut birth, whose Union sentiments compelled him to flee to the North at the opening of the war—one may trace the good hand of our God in the uplifting of a fallen race. Some of the leading schools and colleges, besides the fifty Normal and Graded Schools, under

the care of the *A. M. A.* are these: *Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.*, famous for its Jubilee singers; *Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.*, one of the very first mission schools to introduce industrial training; *Straight University, New Orleans, La.*; *Tougaloo University, Tougaloo, Miss.*; *Tillotson College, Austin, Tex.*; *Piedmont College, Demorest, Ga.* Two theological seminaries are maintained, one at *Atlanta, Ga.*, and one at *Howard University, Washington, D. C.* The men and women who founded these schools, and the 200 churches of the Association; the 700 teachers and preachers still working bravely and hopefully for the blacks, well deserve the tribute paid them (and others like them) by the preacher of the annual sermon at the meeting of the *A. M. A.* in Oberlin, in 1906.

"They saw the Negro not as he was, but as he was to become. They looked up from fields sodden with the inheritance of slavery to more radiant uplands. They saw upon his face the light which St. Gaudens saw, and which is caught imperishably upon the bronze faces of those un-resting ranks marching by Shaw as he stands in youth immortal where Beacon Hill stoops toward Boston Common. And they saw that wherever those faces, lit with a new light, were to march, they would never reach the appointed goal, unless strength marched by their side, unless wisdom led them, unless love suffered for them, and unless courage was willing to die for them."

Hampton and Gen. Armstrong. Of all the forces making for the real emancipation of the Negro—moral and industrial—the work of *Samuel Chapman Armstrong* must be placed among the foremost. Born in the Hawaiian Islands in 1839, of missionary parents, his boy life was vigorous, well-trained, and strongly impressed by the unselfish, con-

secrated spirit of his home. Observant of the native habits, he drew upon this knowledge in formulating plans for the work which became his life-long mission. Graduating from Williams College in 1862, he at once entered the Union army, fought at Gettysburg, commanded a regiment of Negro troops, and became a brigadier general. The War over, he entered the service of the *Freedman's Bureau* under Gen. Howard, was assigned to the Jamestown peninsula, and there, in the midst of thousands of Freedmen, childish, ignorant, and unskilled, he realized the problem of the future, and set himself at once to work out a solution. A firm believer in the "Gospel of Labor," a strong man on fire with missionary zeal, he consecrated his best energies, physical, intellectual, and spiritual to the purpose of realizing the vision which, even before entering the service of the Bureau, had come to him while sailing on a troop-ship to Texas, and twice afterward—the dream of his school as it afterward became. In 1868, the institution now known as the *Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute* was started on land only a few miles from the spot where the first cargo of slaves was landed in 1619, overlooking the famous battle ground of the Monitor and the Merrimac. For two years the school was carried on under the auspices of the A. M. A. with Gen. Armstrong as its principal; but in 1870, it was chartered by a special act of the General Assembly of Virginia, and is now a private corporation controlled by a board of seventeen trustees, representing seven religious denominations, and almost as many different sections of the country. The magnificent record of 38 years cannot be compressed into the limits of a paragraph. In 1868, one teacher, a matron, fifteen pupils; in 1906, 120 officers and teachers, over 1,200 pupils—

400 in the Whittier Practise School—60 buildings, including large dormitories, a Memorial Church, library, museum, hospital, gymnasium, printing office; academic, trade, agriculture, and domestic science buildings; shops in which 18 trades are taught, and farms containing about 800 acres of land. — Of the 1,310 Negro graduates, 85 per cent have been teachers for at least a time; over 25 per cent are farmers or tradesmen; 5,000 undergraduates have gone out into a world needing the valuable assistance of their industrial training; over 75 per cent of those learning trades within the last ten years are either teaching them or working at them. Among the unique features of *Hampton* are its *Summer Sessions* for teachers, providing not only for the usual academic studies, but for instruction in trades, agriculture, and domestic science, and the *Annual Negro Conference* held in June for the discussion of questions vital to the advancement of the race, showing in the subjects treated an already marvelous advance. The Committees of the Conference suggest the topics: Economic Conditions; Education, Religion and Morals; Charities and Corrections; Vital and Sanitary Problems; Civic Relations; Housing and Land Problems. *The Southern Workman* is published monthly by the Institute; thousands of Hampton Leaflets on practical subjects are printed and distributed; religious influences are always and everywhere exerted, and the whole wide range of multiplied activities is under the efficient management of *Dr. H. B. Frissell*, the worthy successor of him who planted the seeds of a Christian industrial education for the Negro, which have borne such abundant fruit not only in Hampton, but in Tuskegee, and all the great industrial schools of the South. In 1893, Gen. Armstrong entered a realm of higher service above, but his works

live after him and his memory is fragrant in the hearts of all whom he has helped and inspired, blacks and whites alike. A recent issue of *The Southern Workman* contained this poetic tribute to a great man and a good:

"Born to the music of far tropic seas,
Where Mauna Loa with her smoky crown,
O'er verdant sunny isles looks regnant down,
He took in Nature's school, her high degrees.
The ocean's sweep in storm or rippling breeze,
The midnight stars, the dizzy mountain trail,
Life 'neath the sky, the saddle, and the sail,
The tumbling surf, the hills, the lofty trees,
His spirit formed, till lusty manhood came
Full of high purpose to uplift and bless,
Strong to endure life's utmost toil and stress.
In learning's quest he left his island shore,
Thirsting for truth, careless of pelf or fame,
Eager to serve; and found the open door.
Straight from the sheltered charm of college days,
Stirred by the mighty conflict's high appeal,
He buckled on his sword with flaming zeal,
Not, in the strife to win a soldier's bays,
But up from lowliest lot the oppressed to raise
To manhood's plane; and when the goal was won,
Rank and renown, crowned duty nobly done,
Back from the field returned to peaceful ways.
Charged with the care of helpless thousands here,
He ceaseless strove, and toiled and wrought and
planned,
To train the darkened mind, the heart, the hand.
All that we see to-day is his, and him,
Hero and founder, leader beloved, and seer,
A beacon light the years can never dim."

Presbyterian Board of Missions For Freedmen. To no one body of Christians alone was it given to enter the open door of opportunity, when the shackles fell from a great host of captive slaves; but the welfare of the Freedman made its thrilling appeal to the Christian conscience of all the churches. Response was quick and prompt, and en-

deavor has been persistent and successful; but it is possible to mention here only the most important work of our great denominational boards. Scarcely had the War closed, when the Presbyterians organized in their mission work a special *Board of Missions for Freedmen*, to educate and evangelize, "to build up Christian character and to promote Christian living." With what result, a few facts and figures from their 41st Annual Report will best indicate, tho figures cannot measure influence and indirect results. Over 220 ministers are at work, serving 366 churches and missions in the Southland, churches numbering over 22,000 members, and Sabbath Schools with nearly the same membership. There are 108 schools under the care of this Board; one a large university, *Biddle University* at *Charlotte, N. C.*; five are boarding schools for girls—*Scotia Seminary, Concord, N. C.*, *Mary Allen Seminary, Crockett, Tex.*, *Ingleside Seminary, Burkeville, Va.*, *Mary Holmes Seminary, West Point, Miss.*, and *Barber Memorial Seminary, Anniston, Ala.* Of the twelve co-educational boarding schools, two of them—*Harbison College, Abbeville, S. C.*, and *Haines Normal and Industrial School, Augusta, Ga.*—bid fair to rank, the former with the best industrial schools, and the latter with the foremost Normal Institutes in the South. The other schools are academic and "parochial schools," and in all there are over 17,000 pupils under the guiding care of 332 teachers, training head and hand and heart. — The parochial or parish school is one of the most effective agencies of the Board. Whenever a church is organized, there, if possible, is established a school supervised and often taught by the pastor, whose mission is to give not only a good, thorough common school education, but definite religious instruction, teaching God's word, and how to live

a life that will honor him. This is the testimony of one South Carolina pastor:

"In the section of this state in which a school of this grade has been carried on for fourteen years, there has not been a single conviction of a Negro in the criminal courts, or one case of murder since the beginning of the school. The removal of the school would be a death blow to the intellectual, spiritual and moral growth of the people of that locality."

How much the parents appreciate this help is evident from the gifts of butter, milk, and eggs sent by those too poor to pay the trifling charge of tuition. "Imagine a poor little Negro boy or girl coming to the school with a cup of salt as compensation for the privilege of learning lessons held so lightly by our children." Imagine, too, a regular Friday morning prayer meeting in one of these schools, when a little girl asked God to bless the poor heathen, and help her to be one to take the Gospel to them that are in darkness. Who can estimate the far-reaching results of a work that not only makes for knowledge, industry, and Christian character, but plants the missionary impulse even in the hearts of the little ones?

The Freedmen's Aid of M. E. Church. Given in full, that branch of the mission work of a great denomination whose membership includes a large proportion of the dark-skinned brothers of the South, is called *The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*. The name suggests a service not limited to the Negroes, but rendered as well to that multitude in the Southern States whose need of educational assistance is so great. In 1900, the *per capita* expenditure for public schools in Massachusetts was \$4.93,

with an average of \$2.83 in the whole country; but in the state of North Carolina it was but 51 cents, and only 50 cents in Alabama. All the mission boards recognize and respond to this crying need of help, but that work is not included in this brief record of sympathetic aid rendered to the Freedmen. — In 1906, this M. E. Society celebrated its 40th Anniversary, and from the report presented on that occasion a few facts may be gleaned.

“Forty years ago we had no lands, no buildings, and only one teacher. To-day we have 46 institutions with land and buildings valued at \$1,991,569, with 645 teachers, and an enrollment of 11,825 students. During the forty years of our work, we have had in our schools nearly 300,000 pupils, and have sent out over 12,000 teachers and 3,000 ministers among the colored people, who have in turn touched and uplifted many thousands of their race. In addition to these teachers, ministers, and professional graduates, hundreds of men and women carefully trained in the industries have been sent forth to dignify labor and to become examples of thrift and industry among their people. To-day we have more industrial schools, more industrial students, and send out every year more industrial graduates than any institution or set of institutions in the South.”

Of the principal schools under the control of this Board may be mentioned: *Gammon Theological Seminary, South Atlanta, Ga.*, whose president is one of the strongest men his race has produced in America, *Rev. Dr. J. W. E. Bowen*, for fourteen years Professor of Church History in the Seminary; *Flint Medical College, New Orleans, La.*, connected with the University in that city; *Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.* Ten collegiate institutions, and eleven academies, placed at important points in eleven Southern States are furthering the moral and spiritual development of their students, as well as that merely

intellectual and industrial. Gracious revivals are of frequent occurrence, and the number of individual conversions increases with every passing year. Christian schools are the hope of the Southland and its people, and Christians everywhere should rally to their support. Fit and beautiful is the closing suggestion from this report of forty years' work for the Freedmen:

"Lincoln Birthday Sunday is now generally observed thruout the church. It is a growing conviction upon our pastors and people that the birthday of the Great Emancipator is the most appropriate day on which to lay upon the hearts of Christian patriots, this great cause for completing the work which Lincoln began, and to take offerings for its maintenance and support."

P. E. Church Work Among the Negroes. In the Domestic Section of the report of an organization of wide reach and influence, known as *The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, one may find answer to the question, "What is this church doing for the Christian and industrial training of the colored people of the South?" Forty years ago, a far-seeing clergyman, *Rev. Dr. J. Brenton Smith*, founded near Raleigh, N. C., a school for colored people, called *St. Augustine's*. It began in one building, and there was given an ordinary school education with training in farm work. To-day it is *St. Augustine's Normal and Industrial School*, with ten buildings, and 400 students learning useful trades. Connected with it is *St. Agnes's Hospital and Training School*, where young colored women are trained as nurses, who find ready employment in the homes of the white people in the vicinity, and are a constant source of blessing to the sick poor of the neighbor-

hood. At *Lawrenceville, Va.*, is *St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School*, and these two institutions are rapidly measuring up to the standard of Hampton and Tuskegee, teaching Negro youth "how to do things." Similar work is being done at *St. Athanasius's Parochial Normal and Industrial School, Brunswick, Ga.*, and at *St. Mark's Academy and Industrial School, Birmingham, Ala.*; and there are ninety parochial and industrial schools besides. Definite religious teaching is given here, as well as all along the line of Kindergartens, Sabbath Schools, and church services maintained by the faithful missionary workers of the church. Provision has been made, also, for the higher theological education of those Negroes wishing to take Holy Orders, at the *Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg, Va.*, and at *King Theological Hall, Washington, D. C.*, opened in 1905, "to train for the Negro race clergy and missionaries such as carried the light of the gospel to the *barbarous ancestors of what are now the most progressive nations of the earth.*" Very recently, the Board of Missions of this church has created *The American Institute for Negroes*, incorporated under the laws of the State of Virginia, to give greater efficiency to their educational work, thereby contributing to the more rapid advancement and regeneration of the race.

Colored Men's Department of Y. M. C. A. When the First Young Men's Christian Associations were organized in this country—at Boston and Montreal, in 1851—there seemed little prospect of that measure of freedom and intelligence which would make possible work among the colored men of the land. Slaves could not be organized into such associations, but educated freemen could; and when the

International Convention met in Richmond, in 1875, a petition was presented by the pastors of the colored churches of that city, praying that the way might open for the extension of association work among the young men of their race in the South. The following year, the presiding officer of the convention held in Toronto, himself from Alabama, urged the importance of this work; and the first contribution toward the fund for the support of an International Secretary in this new field came from an eminent clergyman of Louisville, Ky. In 1879, such a secretary was secured from Oberlin, Ohio, a man who gave eleven years of self-sacrificing labor to the development of this work chiefly in the schools and colleges at the South. To-day there are three Negro secretaries supervising the work among the 2,000,000 colored men in North America. *Mr. W. A. Hunton* attends to the general interests of both departments, with one secretary devoting all his time to the city associations, and another to the schools. There are 36 city associations, tho only 21 paid local secretaries, doing efficient work in their physical, social, intellectual, and religious departments; their Bible classes show an attendance of nearly 5,000, and the religious meetings of 53,370. — The first new building to be erected by a Colored Association was dedicated July 1, 1900, at Norfolk, Va., and now 16 buildings have been built, or adapted to association purposes, and the success of such work is assured. — In the schools and colleges of the South, there are 82 associations, and the presidents of these institutions bear valuable testimony to the service rendered by them in their midst—service essentially Christian and missionary. One writes:

“The record shows that out of 227 students, all but 12 are professing Christians. This condition

is due largely to the Y. M. C. A. as an instrument in the Master's hands."

Another says, "Our largest revivals had their beginning in the Y. M. C. A. Sunday meetings." And the pastor of a colored church in New York city pays this deserved tribute:

"Our race should feel proud of the intelligent, consecrated International Secretaries. No preacher in our race of any denomination is doing more to solve the vexed and intricate Negro problem than is being done by these men in organizing our young men for the highest Christian citizenship."

BAPTIST EFFORT AND ACHIEVEMENT

Southern Baptist Convention. In those troubled days when the question of domestic slavery entered so critically into all the great affairs of the nation, it was not politics alone, but even the churches and religious societies which felt the shock that split in twain bodies harmonious and entire till then. Of the great denominations so rent asunder, one was the Baptist, a body of Christians large and rapidly increasing both North and South. Believing that better and more effective missionary work, both at home and abroad, could be accomplished by separate organizations, the Southern Baptists withdrew from the *Baptist General Convention*, in which all had worked together since its formation in 1845, and formed a new society called the *Southern Baptist Convention*. The year following, the Northern Baptists reorganized under the name of the *Baptist Missionary Union*, which carries on to-day the great and growing foreign mission work of the denomination. The *Southern Baptist Convention* also sustains large mis-

sions in foreign lands, and has besides work in all parts of the Homeland, carried on by its *Home Mission Board*. — The loving concern felt by this Board for the NEGRO NEIGHBORS in their midst finds expression in the first annual report submitted in 1846.

"Altho vast numbers of them enjoy religious advantages far superior to multitudes of our poor white citizens, yet greater numbers are in condition to require the special attention of this body. The time is not far distant when a wise and prudent plan for the religious improvement of that class of our population will be generally approved and adopted."

Three years later, the report referred to the 130,000 Negroes then belonging to Baptist churches, and recommended that the missionaries devote as much as possible of their time and service to the spiritual welfare of the colored people, stating that two had been appointed especially to them. In 1851, the Board could report that this department of their labor was increasing in interest every year; that their missionaries were holding special services for the benefit of the *slaves*, and all bearing favorable testimony to the happy influence of the Gospel upon the hearts and lives of those people. So runs the record until the War; then there was other work for heart and hand; but no sooner was peace declared than the work of the Prince of Peace was resumed. Every passing year showed increased interest on the part of the churches, and increased eagerness for the Gospel on the part of the Freedmen. By 1868, thirty churches had been organized, and twenty-four meeting houses commenced; in 1882, one missionary was appointed special instructor in theology, and more than 100 deacons and preachers profited by his lectures; in 1886, as a result, perhaps, there were more than twenty colored preach-

ers enrolled among the missionaries of the Board. A constantly growing sense of obligation to a race that has so long lived in their midst and served them in material things, has prompted the *Southern Baptist Convention* to devise new plans, in co-operation with another body, for discharging this obligation in the power and love of Christ, by serving them more faithfully in spiritual things.

National Baptist Convention. The very large number of Negro Baptists in the United States, most of whom are in the South, have organized themselves into a body called the *National Baptist Convention*, meeting once a year, and consisting of delegates from the Negro Churches, Sunday Schools, Missionary Societies, District and General Associations, Sunday School and State Conventions. This Convention has its Mission Boards, its schools and colleges, and its co-operative work with the State Boards in ten Southern States, Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Thirty-five High Schools and colleges, besides many lower schools, are under the direct control of Negro boards and faculties, tho only partially supported by them; and in these schools are enrolled nearly three-fourths of all the Baptist scholars in Baptist schools. Some of the leading institutions so managed are: *Virginia Seminary and College, Lynchburg, Va.*; *Central City College, Macon, Ga.*; *Alabama University, Selma, Ala.*; *Florida Baptist College, Jacksonville, Fla.*; *Central College, Macon, Mo.*; *Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, Ark.*; *Guadalupe College, Seguin, Tex.*; *State University, Louisville, Ky.*; and *Eckstein Norton University, Cane Springs, Ky.* What a record for a people not yet two generations out of bondage! — To such a repre-

representative Negro organization as this, the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention presented in 1904 a plan of co-operation for the further religious development of the Negroes, to lift them up to nobler ideals and higher standards of living. The plan was accepted, and according to its terms, the *National Baptist Convention* selects the missionaries—of the colored race—agreeing upon their salaries and fields of labor. The other Board shares in the responsibility and expense, and the report of 1906 showed thirty-three missionaries so maintained, and a work to their credit of incalculable benefit not only to the people whose need is so great, but to the spirit of brotherly love and harmony which is bringing the Gospel of Christ to bear in fuller measure upon the problem of the races.

**American
Baptist
Home Mission
Society.**

When the *A. B. H. M. S.* was organized in 1832 "to promote the preaching of the Gospel in North America," its principal field of labor was the Mississippi Valley. In twenty years, the westward course of empire had extended its opportunity for service to the Golden Gate. In thirty years, the fall of broken fetters gave entrance to the Sunny Southland, and straightway it entered in, to share in the growing work of winning the Freedmen to the hope and knowledge of the Gospel with all its blessings for the life that now is, and that which is to come. Very simple was the entrance effort—just to teach the poor ministers who could not read their Bibles; then those others who were so eager to learn; then the schools developed into large and flourishing institutions, and the educational service of the Society was assured. It has been a definitely Chris-

tian education given in all these schools, with the Bible for a text-book, Bible Schools and prayer-meetings, missionary and temperance societies for added means; and soul culture and upright conduct for an end. How great has been the measure of success, no figures can fully tell, but from the latest annual report are gleaned the facts which need the touch of a spiritual imagination to make them glow with life and beauty. —Colored missionaries have been employed in 19 states and territories; among the colored people, 46 missionaries and 260 teachers have given loyal, earnest service; about 30 schools and colleges have been supported wholly or in part by the Society; conversions have been numerous; homes have been transformed; industrial education has been advanced; teachers and preachers have been trained; and a missionary spirit has been cultivated which promises much for the regeneration of Africa, as well as the enlightenment of the dark corners of the Homeland. Omitting the schools supported in part by the National Baptist Convention and the Woman's Societies, the following are some of the most important institutions under the fostering care of the *American Baptist Home Mission Society*: *Atlanta Baptist College, Atlanta, Ga.*—founded in 1867 at Augusta, but later transferred to Atlanta—*Rev. John Hope, President*; *Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.*—founded in 1870 and named for Mrs. Stephen Benedict of Pawtucket, R. I., whose generosity made it possible—*Rev. A. C. Osborn, D. D., President*; *Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.*—founded in 1881—*Rev. A. B. Chaffee, D. D., President*; *Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.*—with Law and Medical Schools, founded in 1865 and named for its generous donor—*Rev. C. F. Meserve, LL. D., President*; *Virginia Union Univer-*

sity—a consolidation of Wayland Seminary founded at Washington, D. C., in 1865, and Richmond Theological Seminary—Rev. G. R. Hovey, D. D., President; Florida Institute—founded at Live Oak, Fla., in 1876; Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.; Hearne Academy, Hearne, Tex.; Houston Academy, Houston, Tex.; Howe Bible and Normal Institute, Memphis, Tenn.; Jeruel Academy, Athens, Ga.; Walker Institute, Augusta, Ga.; and Western College, Macon, Mo. — Over 500 students for the ministry are annually enrolled in these schools; in view of this fact, and the constantly improving public schools of the South, the Society now faces the important question, whether its future efforts may not wisely be centered on such work as will serve to give a better qualified ministry to the 15,000 Negro Baptist Churches, in which are enrolled over two-fifths of the more than 5,000,000 Baptists in the United States. "To promote the *preaching* of the Gospel in North America," is still the highest aim of the A. B. H. M. S. in 1907, as in 1832.

Women's Baptist Home Mission Society. *The women who publish the tidings are a great host, whether working independently in so magnificent an organization as the Woman's Home*

Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, or as auxiliary societies in most of the other denominations. Both co-operation and freedom characterize the efforts of our Baptist women. The *Women's Baptist Home Mission Society*, organized in Chicago, Feb. 1, 1877, has for its distinctive work "the Christianization and elevation of the *homes* of the people," and most of this work is done independently, but part in connected with the A. B. H. M. S. Three months



A CABIN HOME

after organization, the first appointment was conferred upon *Miss Joanna P. Moore*, who had already given years of consecrated service to Negro women and children. The character of her work can be judged, in a measure, by her first year's report: 5,000 visits, 300 Bible readings and teachers' meetings, 4 sewing schools each week, and personal religious conversation with almost every one she met. What is the result of her forty-four years' labor, only the recording angel knows! And this pioneer in the field and veteran in service is still doing the work her Master so long ago committed to her charge. In 1888, she opened at Baton Rouge a Training School for Christian workers, wives and mothers, but the wrath of wicked men drove her from the state. In November, 1890, a notice signed by "The White League," and decorated with skull and cross-bones was posted on Miss Moore's gate; the implied threat was not difficult to understand, and when dastardly outrages were committed on respectable colored men, and the women pupils fled in terror to their homes, her work in Louisiana was ended. But, until this year, Miss Moore, with three secretaries and five hundred voluntary assistants in all parts of the South, has directed in Nashville a movement unique in its method, but wonderfully far-reaching and effective. This is the *Fireside School*, which provides for a regular course of reading in the homes, including a portion of the Scriptures. The parents enrolled promise to read each day with their children, and sign besides the following pledge:

- I. I promise that by the help of God I will pray with and for my children, and expect their early conversion.
- II. I will try to be a good pattern for my children in my daily life, especially in temper, conversation and dress.

- III. I will recognize the fact that God expects me to care for and train my children for Him in soul and mind as well as body."

Thousands of books are sold and given away, a paper—*Hope*—edited by Miss Moore as the organ of the Fireside School, has a monthly circulation of 8,000, carrying to many homes a Bible lesson for every day in the month with a practical exposition fitting it to the conduct of everyday life. Probably no white person, man or woman, has entered into so many colored homes as has Miss Moore; and the story of her long life with its many and varied labors is one of thrilling and inspiring interest. Only recently has she consented to share with the public some of her wonderful experiences, and the series of autobiographical sketches published under the name *In Christ's Stead* deserves wide and appreciative reading. — Many of her methods are followed by other devoted missionaries of this *Women's Society*, of whom 213 have been employed in the 29 years from 1877 to 1906. Of these, 126 were white and 87 colored women; and the record of the last year's work shows that of the 57 then employed, 24 were white and 33 colored. The Training Schools of the Society have rendered invaluable service in the preparation of consecrated, cultivated workers in homes and schools. The *Baptist Missionary Training School* in Chicago has trained hundreds of white girls for all lines of Christian effort, both at home and on the foreign field. In 1902, a special training school was opened by this Society in connection with *Shaw University, Raleigh*, for colored women who might wish to prepare for work among their own people in the Southern States, in Africa, or some other distant land. About two years later, the *Caroline Bishop Training School* was started at Marshall, Tex.,



MISS HARRIET E. GILES

MISS SOPHIA B. PACKARD

FOUNDERS OF SPELMAN SEMINARY

as a department of *Bishop College*, but was transferred in 1898 to *Dallas, Texas*. In 1905, as the buildings at Shaw were needed for a hospital connected with the Medical School, that training department was consolidated with the one at Dallas, where now are in training the Negro girls and women who are to wield so great an influence in the generation to come. — Co-operating with the *W. B. H. M. S.* in several branches of its work is the *Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society of Michigan*, an independent state organization started earlier than either the society in the West or our own in the East. Formed in 1873, its work has reached seventeen states and seven distinct nationalities, but its special service to the Negroes has been rendered by contributing to the support of a teacher in Hartshorn, and the missionaries of the Western Society. Its watchword has the ring of earnestness and efficiency—"What thou doest, do quickly."

OUR SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

"As much the more one says *Ours*,
So much the more of good each one possesses."

Spelman Seminary. Very dear to the hearts of the New England women who constitute the membership of the *Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society* is this now famous institution for colored girls—"The Vassar of the South." When the *W. A. B. H. M. S.* was organized in November, 1877, eight months later than its sister society in the West, its object was "the evangelization of the women among the *freed-people*, the Indians, the heathen immigrants, and the new settlements of the West." The first money—\$50.00—was sent to aid Mrs. Harriet

Newell Hart in her work among the colored people of a little village in Georgia. Was that a foreshadowing of the institution—the greatest of our schools—to be later planted in the very heart of Georgia? From the outset, the efforts of the Society were directed chiefly to the appointment and support of teachers, and in the division of territory and service made in 1880, the work of Christian education became *our* definite mission. The story of the founding of Spelman reads like a chapter from the Modern Acts of the Apostles. Two noble Christian women, *Miss Sophia B. Packard*—the first Corresponding Secretary of the Society—and *Miss Harriet E. Giles*, were appointed in the spring of 1881 to go to *Atlanta* "to engage in whatever educational work their judgment should dictate." In their hearts they had already heard the pitiful cry of ignorance rising from the young womanhood of a destitute people, and they went gladly, not counting home, nor comfort, nor reputation dear unto themselves. They reached Atlanta April 1, and went the following morning to the study of Rev. Frank Quarles, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church. So strong was this good man's desire for the elevation of his race, that they found him on his knees pleading for Christian teachers for the women and the girls. What wonder that rising to respond to the strangers' knock, he greeted them with the words, "*God has sent you!*" By his help provision was made for starting a school, and the first session was held April 11, in the dark, damp basement of the Friendship Church. Steady growth in numbers and in needs followed, and in 1883, such generous gifts were received from John D. Rockefeller, that the name was changed from Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary to *Spelman Seminary* in honor of Mrs. Rocke-

feller's parents, life-long friends of the Negro. — In 1906, its 25th anniversary was observed, and the marvelous work of a quarter century fitly and gratefully celebrated. Material prosperity finds its evidence in the change from the dark, damp basement to the ten fine brick buildings on a twenty-acre campus, and the names of the principal buildings are enduring tributes to some of those generous souls whose work or gifts have made them possible. *Packard Hall* and *Giles Hall*, honoring past and present principals, contain recitation rooms, dormitories, library and printing office. *Rockefeller Hall* contains offices, class rooms and Howe Memorial chapel. *MacVicar Hospital* bears the name of one of Spelman's life-long friends and helpers—Rev. Malcolm MacVicar, D. D., LL. D., for fourteen fruitful years in the service of the A. B. H. M. S. as its Superintendent of Education—a man with faith in the Negro and his future. *Morgan Hall* keeps green the memory of Gen. Thomas J. Morgan, for nine years the chief executive officer of the A. B. H. M. S., who gave to all departments of its work the skill and efficiency of cultured brain and sympathetic heart, but to whom the cause of the colored people made special and compelling appeal. As a patriot, he served his country in the Civil War, organizing and commanding the First Colored Brigade of the Army of the Cumberland; as a philanthropist, he served the Freedmen, organizing and directing for their highest good. *Morehouse Hall* is named for the present efficient Corresponding Secretary of the A. B. H. M. S., and *Reynolds Cottage*—the President's residence—for the honored Secretary of the W. A. B. H. M. S. — Over 6,000 colored girls and women have had help and blessing within these walls, 665 in last year's enrollment. Into all forms of Christian life

and service have they entered; even girls from the Congo have been trained to go back and carry the good tidings to their kin in the heart of Africa. Forty-six teachers are engaged in the noble work of instruction and seventeen of these are supported by our society. The motto of Spelman is, *Our Whole School for Christ*," and so fully has it been realized in the lives and labor of the great host of Spelman women that one may almost dare to write it—

"The *world* for Christ we sing,
The *world* to Christ we bring."

Mather School. "Whenever it is written, and I hope it will be—the part that the Yankee teachers played in the education of the Negroes immediately after the war, will make one of the most thrilling parts of the history of this country. The time is not far distant when the whole South will appreciate this service in a way that it has not yet been able to do."

—[Booker T. Washington.

One of those *Yankee teachers* was *Mrs. Rachel C. Mather* of Boston, who had so strong and deep a desire to teach the Freedmen that in 1867 she offered her services to the *A. M. A.* and was sent to conduct a Normal School at *Beaufort, S. C.* Finding too few pupils for such advanced work, but many destitute children, she opened at her own expense an orphanage, and then organized a school near by. Crowds came, until accommodations were outgrown; those who came on Sundays for the Sunday School must be refused as day scholars, and even then the sessions must be held out in the open air. For lack of supplies, the New Testament was the only reading book, and Yankee ingenuity provided instruction in Arithmetic, Geography, and Grammar from the teacher's own

well-furnished mind, until a gift of second-hand school books was received from the Boston School Committee. The work grew in spite of strife and struggle; girls were received for domestic training; a temperance society was organized, and every possible means employed to overcome indolence and idleness, poverty and drunkenness in the homes from which the children came. Supported for a time by the gifts of Mrs. Mather's friends, the school at last found in the *W. A. B. H. M. S.* a friend and helper; and in 1881, the property at Beaufort was deeded to the Society, which has since cared for the institution. In 1893, both school and people suffered intensely from the fearful storm which laid waste the cotton fields of the Sea Islands, and caused such destitution and loss of life. The Mission was turned into a relief station. Hundreds of barrels of clothing were sent from the North. Sometimes over *two hundred* needy ones were helped in a single day, and the starving, homeless poor thanked God for Mrs. Mather's ministry of love. In 1899, after long years of service, she asked to be relieved of the school work, tho she kept her home for the industrial training of her group of girls, and her loving interest in all the work of the school continued until she passed to her reward. — Since then, *Miss S. E. Owen*, formerly one of the Society's teachers at Allendale, N. C., has been in charge of the school, which covers the grades from the Primary to the Grammar. It numbers at present between sixty and seventy boarding students, and nearly as many day pupils who pay *five cents* a week for tuition, and when there is no money bring wood, oysters, sweet potatoes, pecan nuts, or anything the home can provide. Four dormitories, *Owen Hall*, and the *Sale-House* are the principal buildings, and longing girls are continually

being turned away because of lack of room. Without the assets of the *Sale-House*, filled with the contents of the boxes and barrels sent by the home circles at the North, and emptied by eager purchasers among the pupils and their parents, even more must be rejected. As the teachers—all nine of them say:

"They mean to us barrels of flour, sacks of meal, gallons of oil, cords of wood, assistant matron's salary, and *great peace of mind*."

Hartshorn Memorial College. In the early summer of 1883, some teachers from the South were guests in the beautiful home of *Deacon Joseph C. Hartshorn* of Providence, R. I. The host, deeply touched by the need of greater educational advantages for colored girls as then presented, and mindful of the great interest shown by his wife in their welfare, gave in her memory \$10,000 as the nucleus of a fund for a school for their higher education. Mrs. Hartshorn had been a beloved member of the Board of the *W. A. B. H. M. S.*, and it was especially fitting that a memorial to her should advance the work so dear to all their hearts. An estate was purchased in *Richmond, Va.*; the principal and teachers found their home in the Mansion House—the residence of an old time slave holder; the vestry of the Ebenezer Church half a mile distant was hired for a school room, and in November the first session was held with thirty-one pupils in attendance. Another \$10,000 gift from Deacon Hartshorn, the following spring, provided for the erection of the large and convenient house which is the principal college building; and in the same year, the institution was granted a charter by the Legislature of Virginia, with full collegiate and university powers. This beautiful inscrip-

tion engraven in letters of bronze shows the spirit and purpose of the founder as no other words could do.

INSCRIPTION

For the love of Christ, who gave himself for the redemption alike of every race; and

For the love of country, whose welfare depends upon the intelligence, virtue and piety of the lowly as well as of the great; and

With tender sympathy for a people for whom till late no door of hope has been open and aspiration has been vain; and

With desire and hope for the enlightenment of the Dark Continent, the Fatherland of the colored race,

In memory of his sainted wife,

RACHEL HARTSHORN,

that her faith and charity might be reproduced and perpetuated in the lives of many, this institution was founded by

JOSEPH C. HARTSHORN,
of Rhode Island.

On such a foundation, what wonder that the record of twenty-three years is one of strong, successful effort to raise up a body of thoroughly educated Christian women as consecrated workers in the harvest field of the world. In the Annual Catalogue for 1906, one finds a faculty of twelve members, of which *Rev. L. B. Tefft, D. D.* is President, and four of these teachers are supported by our Society, and one by the Michigan Society. Nearly 170 young women were enrolled in the various departments—Preparatory, Normal, and Collegiate; and a simple list of the societies connected with the college indicates the varied nature of the intellectual, moral, and missionary development of the students, and their practical preparation for

their future usefulness: *The Rachel Hartshorn Education and Missionary Society*; *College Temperance Society*; *Hartshorn Home Workers*—for house-to-house mission work in the city; *Pierian Literary Society*; *The Alumnae Association*, and *The White Shield League*—the largest in the world. What a force for righteousness in home and foreign lands streams forth from *Hartshorn Memorial College*!

Waters Normal Institute. In the *black belt* of North Carolina, about one hundred and fifty miles from *Raleigh*, is situated *Waters Normal Institute*, founded in 1886 by its present principal, *Rev. C. S. Brown, D. D.* The colored population of that region greatly outnumbers that of the whites, and they had long been eager and anxious for school privileges; but they had no leader until Mr. Brown came to them after his graduation from Shaw University. Faith, courage, and hard work, with a little help from sympathizing friends, brought to him—and them—such a measure of success that the school, then called *Winton Academy* and later *Chowan Academy*, was opened in October, 1886, with an attendance far in excess of the accommodations. To procure larger quarters, the devoted principal visited the North and appealed for aid. When Horace Waters of New York responded with large gifts and sympathy, the name was changed, out of gratitude to him, to *Waters Normal Institute*. New buildings were added as fast as funds could be procured, and the school rose rapidly in favor with both blacks and whites. In 1892, the *W. A. B. H. M. S.* was asked to support a teacher at Winton, and due appreciation of the assistance at once rendered, was shown by the name given the next year to a new

\$6,000 building for a girl's dormitory—*Reynolds Hall*. After twenty years of labor, the latest report shows an enrollment of nearly 230 pupils, about half of whom are boarders. Four of the seven teachers are supported by our Society; and the efficient principal not only superintends all departments, but teaches the Sciences, Latin, and Theology—since special provision is made for that large class of colored ministers, who desire to improve their preparation—is preacher and pastor besides. From him comes this testimony and touching appeal:

"The work given to us is great, to uplift the people and impress Christ upon them. We are rising in spite of the enormous pressure to keep us down; and if a fair and honest opportunity was accorded my people, such as the white people themselves enjoy, our upward movement would be greatly accelerated. Millions with black faces, heartsore but hopeful, still plead for your sympathy and help."

Jackson In 1877, the *A. B. H. M. S.* founded in **College**. Natchez, Miss., a college which was removed in 1884 to *Jackson* where, for over twenty years, it has been furnishing intellectual and religious training for young men and women earnestly desiring such assistance. In 1894, *Rev. L. G. Barrett* became the principal, and it is Mrs. Barrett—the Lady Principal—who is supported by the *W. A. B. H. M. S.* *Barrett Hall* for the girls, and *Ayer Hall* for the boys are the principal buildings on the campus, besides the President's house, a fine brick laundry, and the farmer's house and large barn for the agricultural department. The 29th Annual catalogue shows a faculty of 14 white teachers, and an enrollment of 372 pupils in such courses of instruction as the following: Primary and Practise School Course;

Grammar or Preparatory Course, Academic and College Preparatory; College and Theological, with a special Ministers' Course for those preachers in active pastoral service, yet deficient in their early preparation. Courses in cooking, sewing, and physical culture are provided for the girls, and daily Biblical instruction is given to all, with special services on Sunday. There are *Debating Societies* for both young men and women; a *Y. M. C. A.*, a *College Temperance League*, a *McKinney Missionary Society*, are all efficient agencies in preparing these young people for a life of Christian service, when they go out from the sheltering walls of a Christian school. Crowded quarters, and constant appeals for help are the signs of a success which should be the promise of renewed interest, sympathy, and assistance for these Christian institutions in the Southland, so dependent for their support upon Northern friends and contributions.

Americus Institute. One of the best of our secondary schools is *Americus Institute*, situated in the southwestern part of Georgia, almost in the center of the *black belt* and within easy reach of the 800,000 Negroes living within a radius of a hundred miles. As early as 1878, the *Southwestern Georgia Baptist Association* adopted resolutions to establish a school for colored ministers; and the people, full of zeal and enthusiasm, raised money enough to purchase a campus in *Americus*. Then a great disaster befell them, and it was years before it was possible even to build a two-roomed cottage. So, under changed conditions and modified plans, the Institute was opened in 1897 with principal, assistant, and nine pupils—its chief hope of success based upon the great need of work in that community. Now the nine pupils have

become 168, sixty-six of them girls boarding on the campus and enjoying the opportunities for instruction in cooking, basketry, sewing, and house-keeping in general. The boys, who are compelled as yet to board in private families, are learning trades and useful occupations. Besides the Academic Course, there is here also a Ministerial Department furnishing much needed instruction in the Bible, the arts of hymn-reading and sermon-making, and the essential doctrines of Christianity. The principal, *M. W. Reddick*, is a graduate of Atlanta Baptist College; several of the teachers are graduates of Spelman. There are two circles of *King's Daughters*; two circles of young men whose object is suggested by their names—*The Loyal Sons of Chivalry*, and *The Royal Conquerors*; a *C. E. Society* and a *Mission Band*. Little wonder that the latest report says, "The spiritual condition of the school is excellent." Altho this Institute is owned and managed by the Georgia Association, assistance is given it by the *A. B. H. M. S.*, and our Woman's Society has the privilege of supporting two of its earnest Christian teachers, thus shedding some gleams of light thru the darkness of the *black belt*.

Coleman The story of the origin and growth of this **Academy.** successful school for colored youth in the extreme South is best told, in part at least, in the words of its earnest, enthusiastic founder, a graduate of Leland University, *Professor O. L. Coleman*:—

"In 1887, I reached Gibsland, La., finding a section 200 miles wide, and about 300 long, in which there was no high school for the colored people; but three colored teachers who could pass an intelligent examination, and but three preachers who had gone to any kind of a school, and these

only for a few months and mostly at night. I asked the Lord to help me establish an institution in which Christian teachers and preachers might be prepared. *I had no money.* I opened a school in an old church with ten pupils, meanwhile commenced a two-story building in which I closed the session commenced in the church. The first five years I gave all my time, thought, prayers, and money to the work, my wife doing the same; *we knew nothing of a salary,* and lived on what we could collect; all above our actual necessities was used for the school. One year I had at the close of school \$1.50, and another year I had \$2.50. * * * * * The growth during five years made it impossible for the same teachers to do the work. I was then teaching sixteen classes a day and was worked down. There was no money with which to employ others. I asked the Lord to send me help or make me willing to give the work up. I prayed three times a day under a certain hickory tree for four months. The last of September I was informed that the *A. B. H. M. S.* would help pay the salaries of the men teachers; and the year following the *W. A. B. H. M. S.* of Boston commenced to pay the salaries of the lady teachers. Ever since we have been greatly helped by those two Societies in this way. In fact, they saved the institution. God bless them!"

To-day, *Coleman Academy* owns 162 acres of land, occupies ten buildings, has a faculty of at least twelve teachers, four of whom we support, an attendance so rapidly increasing that it will soon reach 400, and a course of study so satisfactory that the Superintendent of Education for the State of Louisiana recently advised that any money sent to the state for Negro education be given to Gibsland; and the editor of *The Gibsland News* commends Prof. Coleman's work in this most cordial fashion: "There is perhaps not a better school for colored students anywhere. The school and its principal have the hearty endorsement of leading and thoughtful citizens." Who would not help to "save" and to increase such institutions that

give Christian education and training to the black folk of the South?

Arkansas Baptist In 1884, the Negro Baptists of Arkansas, aided by a representative of the *A. B. H. College. M. S.*, established at *Little Rock* the *Arkansas Baptist College*. Its immediate purpose was to give the colored preachers of the state the kind of training necessary to fit them for their work under such conditions as then prevailed. Literary and industrial departments were soon added; and the institution has grown to proportions worthy of its aims, and limited only by its needs. For twenty years it has been under the efficient management of *President Joseph A. Booker*, who, with his wife, is a graduate of Roger Williams University. Nearly all the twelve teachers composing the faculty are graduates of Spelman, Shaw, Tuskegee, or some of the older Home Mission schools; three of them are supported by the *A. B. H. M. S.*, and one by our Society. Between 300 and 400 pupils are being yearly instructed in branches from a Grammar School grade to those of a moderate College course, most of them coming from the State of Arkansas, and many from homes of thrift and prosperity. When the college was first started, it occupied land a mile beyond the city limits; now the conditions are reversed, and all the available land in the vicinity is used for business purposes or for homes. Of these homes, 50 per cent are occupied by Negroes, and it is estimated that 75 per cent of the graduates—or their parents—are property owners in the town or farming districts. As President Booker says, "Much of this is due to the doctrine of *home-getting*, which our school preaches to its students." To meet increasing needs, as increasing opportunities present

themselves, is always the problem of the Mission Schools, and the appeal on the College letter-heads is pertinent and practical:

"YOU CAN GIVE MONEY OR MATERIAL IN LARGE
OR SMALL AMOUNTS. GIVE WHILE YOU LIVE."

Florida Baptist Academy. During President Roosevelt's Southern tour in the fall of 1905, he visited the *Florida Baptist Academy* located at *Jacksonville*, and from its improvised platform addressed an enthusiastic audience of 10,000 people. Words of commendation for the work of the school were spoken, and the great truth underlying the tremendous educational need was expressed in this significant phrase—"The costliest crop in any community is the crop of ignorance." To eradicate this noxious growth from a field less cultivated than almost any other in the Union, is the earnest purpose of *Principal Nathan W. Collier*, and his corps of seventeen teachers and instructors. Florida has especial need of zealous, consecrated efforts in this direction, for, in a district nearly twice as large as all New England, there are only *six* schools furnishing secondary instruction for the colored people. Many cities in other Southern states have more and better schools than are to be found in the whole state of Florida. Established in 1892, this Academy has become one of the leading schools in the state, with over 400 students, and many on the waiting list. The courses are Kindergarten, Grammar, Normal, and Industrial; and the institution, under the care of a principal who is a worthy representative of the possibilities of his race, has the cordial endorsement of the leading citizens of Jacksonville and the state, of the Southern Education

Board, and of prominent philanthropists in the North. The *A. B. H. M. S.* assists in its support, and in the coming year the women of New England are to have their share in tilling the neglected soil of Florida. As the *Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society* contributes for the first time to the maintenance of a new teacher, the Florida Baptist Academy comes into the list of OUR SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

WINGED WORDS

"The nineteenth century has made the Negro free; the twentieth century is to make him a man."

Victor Hugo.

"The idea should not be simply to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men."

W. E. B. DuBois.

"Unless we judge every human institution by its *best* products, instead of its worst, we shall find ourselves far from the truth; and this being so, who are we that we shall judge the products of the Almighty by their worst, instead of their best results?"

Joel Chandler Harris.

"America is dedicated to the proposition of the equality of all men before the law, and must either solve the problem, or stultify the national conscience."

Kelly Miller.

"Of what avail the emancipation from *legal* slavery, if the freedman is to find even among his emancipators an *industrial* servitude none the less actual for being enforced outside the law? There is evidently need among us of a revival of a little of the spirit of Lincoln."

Springfield Republican.

